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THE
General Prevalence
OF THE
W O R S H I P
OF
HUMAN SPIRITS,
IN THE
ANTIEN T HEATHEN NATIONS,
ASSERTED AND PROVED.
By HUGH FARMER.

*They changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image
made like to corruptible MAN. Rom. i. 23.*

Quinimo non omnes, quos jam templis habetis vestris,
mortalium sustulistis ex numero, et cœlo sideribusque
donâstis? *Arnobius, adv. Gentes, p. 21.*

L O N D O N :

Printed by GALABIN and BAKER,

FOR

J. BUCKLAND, and G. ROBINSON, in Pater-
noster Row, and T. CADELL, in the Strand.

M.DCC.LXXXIII.

1783

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T H E

INTRODUCTION.

IT may, at first view, seem to be a matter of no concern to Christians, in the present age, what the heathen gods were ; whether the objects of nature, or human spirits, or both ; and, if both, whether they were worshipped so early as the days of Moses. Equally uninteresting may it appear, whether idolatry underwent any change in the long interval between Moses and the Messiah. Nevertheless, a few reflections may serve to convince us, that a critical knowledge of these subjects may answer many valuable purposes.

1. It is evidently necessary to impress us with a due sense of the high importance of the Jewish and Christian dispensations. One great design of both these dispensations was, the cure of idolatry. But, if we are not sensible how great an evil the ancient idolatry was, how dishonourable to the majesty of heaven, and how injurious both to the virtue and happiness of mankind, we cannot possibly set a just value upon our deliverance from it. In order to estimate this aright, we must know what the objects, and also what the rites, of heathen worship, were; what immoral actions are ascribed to the former; what follies, pollutions, and cruelties, constituted the latter. Examine the religion of Egypt and Phenicia, in the days of Moses, and you will be sensible that even the Jewish dispensation, inferior as it is to the Christian, and though principally designed as a preparation for it, was, nevertheless, in itself, an inestimable blessing, by directing all religious worship to the only proper

per object of it, the one true God, the omnipotent Creator and righteous Governor of the whole world; and, by establishing a ritual, that was chaste, instructive, and, to a people so disposed and circumstanced as the Israelites were, necessary to preserve them from idolatry. Those, who are unhappily prejudiced against divine revelation, endeavour, in order to depreciate it, to keep out of sight the odious parts of the pagan religion, and are even lavish in its praise. This makes it the more necessary, that Christians, with an honest disdain of all partiality, should inform themselves what it really was.

2. An accurate knowledge of the heathen idolatry serves to manifest the peculiar propriety of those extraordinary means, which were employed to accomplish our deliverance from it, and to introduce and establish the religions of Moses and the Messiah. If the heathen gods were no other than the objects of nature, and such human spirits as were supposed to preside over them, then the

miracles, by which the missions of the old and new Testament prophets were confirmed, were the most proper that could be chosen ; because they were samples of that absolute dominion over nature*, which Jehovah challenged as his peculiar prerogative ; and, consequently, a full confutation of all the claims of fictitious deities.

3. The miracles of the old Testament were designed not merely for the confutation, but also, in some cases, for the punishment, of idolatry. If this false worship was, what some represent it, merely a speculative and innocent error, it will be difficult to vindicate the displeasure of God against it. But we know that it consisted in the practice of the very worst crimes ; such as incest*, sodomy†, bestiality§,

* This subject is well illustrated by Dr. H. Owen, in his sermons at Mr. Boyle's lecture.

* Compare Levit. xviii. and ch. xx. 19.

† Patrick on 1 Kings, xiv. 24.

§ In Egypt, Strabo, l. 17, p. 1154. Herodot. l. 2, c. 46. Ælian. Animal. c. 19. In Canaan, Levit. xviii. 24.

and

and every possible species of impurity; in the murder also of innocent children, and various other cruelties. *Every abomination to Jehovah which he hateth**, that is, all those things which are most opposite to the rectitude of the divine nature, were rites of idolatrous worship, or *what they did unto their gods*. Such crimes as these are condemned by the light of reason, and were punished by the civil magistrate, except when they were prescribed by religion; which vindicates the justice, and demonstrates the necessity, of those severe methods, used to restrain the idolatry of Egypt and Canaan.

4. Just ideas of the antient idolatry will enable us to discover a farther reason for the punishment of it: I mean only when the unerring Judge of the world takes the work into his own hands, or immediately and by undeniable miracles commissions others to act as the ministers of his justice. As the rites of idolatry consisted in the indulgence of sensual and other criminal passions, so the gods them-

* Deut. xii. 31.

selves were examples^b of the crimes practised in their worship. Now, whenever vice comes to be considered as a divine quality as well as an act of devotion, or, in other words, when it is practised both in honour, and in imitation, of the gods, it is hereby authorised and sanctified; and men must sink into the lowest degeneracy. Their very understandings as well as their hearts must be so depraved, that no other evidence or arguments can produce a powerful and feeling conviction of the purity of the divine Being, and of his abhorrence of idolatry with its attendant vices, but immediate and miraculous displays of his justice in its punishment. If the judgements of the Almighty upon it, in the days of Moses and Joshua, did not reclaim the most hardened offenders, they served as useful warnings to others.

^b Concerning the shocking immoralities of the gods, see below, p. 281. and Lucian, v. 1. p. 326. ed. Amstel. Their vices are so well known, that they need not be enumerated; and many of them were too gross to be mentioned. Calumny itself could not asperse the heathen gods more than their own votaries have done. Their example was often pleaded in justification of the worst crimes.

5. Idolatry, however, was not the means of moral corruption equally in all countries. Human sacrifices^c, for example, and, perhaps, some other flagitious rites of idolatry^d, were not so common in Egypt as in Canaan. And this difference accounts for the different dealings of God with those nations. The impiety of Egypt, a country enlightened by science^e, even in the days of Moses, and its cruel oppression of the Israelites, deserved very severe chastisement; especially, after an obstinate resistance of the most awakening and powerful means of con-

^c Notwithstanding what Herodotus (l. 2. c. 45.) has offered to the contrary, the Egyptians did sometimes (though not often) stain their altars with human blood. See Eusebius, l. 4. c. 16. Porphyry de Abstin. l. 2. §. 55. Theodoret, Serm. vii. p. 589. But this horrid rite of idolatry was very frequently practised by the Canaanites, and with circumstances of singular barbarity; as appears from the history of their descendents at Carthage. Few are strangers to the account given of their cruel sacrifices by Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, and other writers. It is abridged by Mr. Bryant, in his *Observations*, p. 278 et seq.

^d Herodotus tells us, that the Egyptians were the first who would not allow the use of women in their temples. L. 2. c. 64. ^e Acts vii. 22.

viction.

viſtion. But the Canaanites, beſides reſiſting the ſame, and even additional evidence, were ſunk into a deeper corruption ; and were, for this reaſon^f, diſpoſſeſſed and deſtroyed. Many nations, and the Jews in particular, have, in the courſe of God's common providence, ſuffered an almoſt total extirpation. But never did any people more deſerve ſuch an awful ſtroke of juſtice than the Canaanites. Nor was this more an act of juſtice than of mercy to a people ſo reſolutely bent upon their own deſtruction.

6. A knowledge of the heathen deities is neceſſary to juſtify the cenſure paſſed upon them by the prophets of God, and to vindicate the proofs of their own divine authority. In the Engliſh tranſlation of the bible^g, and in the writings of moſt Chriſtians, the pagan deities are re-preſented as *devils* ; and devils have been

^f The cruelty and pollutions of their worſhip are expreſſly aſſigned as the ground of their puniſhment. Levit. xviii. 24, 25. Deut. xii. 31.

^g Levit. xvii. 7. Deut. xxxvii. 17. 2 Chron. xi. 15. Pſ. cvi. 37. 1 Cor. x. 20, 21.

generally

generally thought to have very great power over the *natural* world, and to be able to perform *real*, or (which, in effect, is the same thing) *seeming*, miracles. Now, if the heathen gods have such extensive power, why does the scripture so often reproach them with utter impotence? To suppose, with a late writer^h, that they are said to be *nothing* in the scriptures *only as gods*, is to pervert the obvious meaning, and even (unintentionally) to asperse the character, of the prophets of God. The heathens ascribed, to the objects of their worship, prophecies and miracles, and the power of doing both good and evil to mankind; and on this ground asserted their divinity. On the other hand, the prophets of God declare they had no such power, no more than their senseless images; and hence concluded that they were not gods; nay, they even allow that, in case they had the powers ascribed to them by their votaries, they would be entitled to the worship of

^h Fell, *Demoniacs*, p. 60, see also p. 57. Some pretend that devils personated the heathen gods: a point that is examined in *Dissert. on Mir.* p. 240-247.

mankind.

mankind. *Shew us things for to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods; yea, do good or do evil, that we may be dismayed, or “ then shall be struck at once with admiration and terror¹.” But, behold, ye are less than nothing, and your operation is less than nought **. Let us suppose that the heathen gods had accepted this challenge, foretold future events, and done both good and evil to mankind, or either; their votaries might have replied to the prophet, “ Our gods have actually exerted, and therefore certainly possess, the powers and prerogatives we ascribe to them, and which you deny them. Most falsely therefore do you affirm, that they† and their operations are *nothing, and less than nothing*. They have given you the very proofs you required of their being *gods*; and therefore, upon your own principles, you ought now to acknowledge them under this character. To pretend, after the point is decided, that all you meant was, that

¹ If. xli. 23. Bp. Lowth in loc. * V. 24. Id.

† Compare Jerem. xxxi. 15. cited below, p. xxxiii.

“ they

“ they are *nothing only as gods*, is mere pre-
 “ varication ; it is flying from your own
 “ proposal, and rejecting the evidence of
 “ their divinity you declared you would
 “ admit.” If the Scripture teaches any
 thing with clearness and certainty, it is this ;
 that the heathen gods are absolutely in-
 capable of interposing at all in human af-
 fairs^k. And the truth of this represen-
 tation will be allowed by such as know
 that those gods were no other than ei-
 ther the objects of nature or deified men ;
 the former, being merely the passive in-
 struments of providence, and the latter
 having no intercourse with this lower
 world^l. If any of the rivals of the true
 God can perform or imitate real mira-
 cles, how can we vindicate the use which
 the Scripture makes of these works, as
 immediate divine attestations to the mis-
 sion and doctrine of a prophet ?

7. A right understanding of the
 change idolatry underwent, in the inter-

^k See Dissert. on Mir. p. 233-239.

^l Id. p. 161, et seq.

val between Moses and the Messiah, serves to shew how perfectly both their institutions corresponded to the difference, in the religious state of the world, in their respective times.

Polytheism was originally founded in a false persuasion of the divinity of nature and its constituent parts ; more particularly of the sun, moon, and stars. This opinion was generally received in the early ages of the world, and had certainly taken fast hold of the minds of men in the age of Moses. At this period, therefore, it pleased God to display his own sovereign dominion over nature, over all the elements, and the heavenly bodies ; and to make nature herself, and all her powers, the instruments of punishing those, who had set them up as gods, in opposition to himself. Hereby he afforded the world the most *seasonable* as well as striking confutation of the claims of those gods, and demonstration of his own character, as sole monarch of the universe. He might have delivered

delivered his people from the bondage of Egypt, and put them into the possession of Canaan, by other methods; but he chose to do it at such a time, and in such a manner, as would convey the most suitable and necessary instruction. And it was doubtless with the view of conveying this instruction, and manifesting himself to mankind at this period by the miracles he performed in Egypt and Canaan, that he, to whom all his works are known from the beginning, placed the Israelites in such circumstances, and gave them such promises, as would naturally call for these miracles.

In the long interval between Moses and the Messiah, idolatry seems to have undergone a considerable change; not indeed in its outward form and appearance, but in the opinion entertained of the gods. When a spirit of enquiry began to prevail in the civilized nations, the divinity of nature was called in question. Even the sun, moon, and stars, were considered, by many of the Greek philosophers, as inanimate substances, long before the commencement

commencement of the Christian æra. Cotta, who lived near it, distinguishes between the gods and the objects of nature, which had been confounded together^m. And Plutarch, who lived somewhat later, argues largely against those, who gave the names of gods to things that had neither sense nor soulⁿ. The doctrine of the divinity of nature had lost considerable ground in the time of Christ ; not merely through the improvement of science, but also through the influence of another cause, viz. the learned nations having made human spirits the more immediate objects of their established worship from the early ages of the world. Besides, many eminent philosophers, and Plato in particular, had taught several centuries

^m Cotta objects against the Eleusinian and other mysteries, “ that, being explained, and reduced to the standard of reason, we were made acquainted rather with *the nature of things* than with *the gods*.” Quibus explicatis, ad rationemque revocatis, rerum magis natura cognoscitur quam deorum. Ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 42.

ⁿ Plutarch. Is. & Osir. p. 377.

before the coming of Christ, that all intercourse, between the celestial gods and men on earth, was carried on by the mediation of demons, who, on that account, were to be worshipped and invoked. This doctrine was in such high reputation, when the Gospel was first published, that it was generally received by the devout Pagans, and even by many learned Jews, who ascribed to angels (that is, to such human spirits as, in their opinion, became angels^o) the same offices which the Heathens did to demons†.

In these circumstances there was a peculiar propriety in affording the world full evidence, that, as there is but one God, one universal sovereign of nature, (as Moses had amply demonstrated,) so there is but one Lord*, even Jesus Christ, who has all power given unto him both in heaven and on earth; to whom angels, principalities, and powers, spirits of every rank and order, are

* Dissert. on Mir. p. 181. † Whitby on Coloss. ii. 18.

* 1 Cor. viii. 4, 5, 6. 1 Tim. ii. 5.

made subject; and who is the only mediator between God and man, the only person appointed to convey divine blessings to us, and in whose name alone we are to present our addresses to God. Christ established his claim to be Lord of mankind, without any rival, by the exercise of a miraculous power over their bodies and minds, by rising from the dead to take possession of his universal kingdom; and by dispensing divine gifts to his followers. Hereby he disgraced all the vain pretences of the heathen demons, who remained under the power of death, and had never given proof of their having any dominion over the human race.

8. The perfect correspondence of the different institutions of Moses and the Messiah to the state of the world, at the respective times of their being introduced, may be farther illustrated on another important article, that of a future state.

The want of explicit information concerning this state, in the religion of Moses, has been often urged as an objection against it; to which a knowledge
of

of the heathen idolatry will enable us to return a satisfactory answer, though it has, I apprehend, been hitherto overlooked. The worship of the dead necessarily implied a belief of the immortality of the soul^p. Now this species of idolatry sprang up in Egypt and Phenicia, before the time of Moses, and was even practised by the Israelites in the wilderness, as will be shewn hereafter. Consequently, the principle, upon which this practice was founded, must have been received by them in the days of the Jewish legislator. In these circumstances, could it be necessary to inculcate upon the Israelites the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, which they had already imbibed and greatly perverted?

It was much more becoming the wisdom of God, because more for the benefit of men, to rectify their mistakes concerning it. With this view, the Israel-

^p “ The law, which commands those consecrated from
“ amongst men to be worshipped, shews that the souls of
“ all are immortal.” Cicero, cited in the following
sheets, together with others who hold the same language.

P. 303, 304.

ites were instructed, that death was not, in itself, the blessing they imagined, but was the penalty of man's disobedience, and a standing monument of God's displeasure against it; that it reduced to dust all of man that was taken from the dust, that is, his corporeal frame; and, consequently, that, instead of advancing him to divine dominion over the world, it destroyed all his communication with it, which was maintained only by means of his bodily organs. At the same time the Israelites were farther informed, that it was God's good pleasure to redeem mankind from the power of death, at a future period, by that distinguished personage whom he should appoint, and who was to be, in a peculiar manner, *the seed of the woman*. Thus, while Moses laid a foundation for faith in God and the hope of redemption, and warned men against expecting this inestimable blessing in a course of disobedience, he subverted the very foundation of the worship paid to the dead.

In

In like manner, the account, which Moses has given of God's creating the world by his almighty fiat, is calculated to destroy that other species of idolatry, the worship of the heavenly bodies. The doctrine of the Jewish prophet on both these points, besides it's general use, has the farther recommendation of a peculiar propriety, when considered in its relation and subserviency to that system of religion, which he was appointed to establish upon the ruins of all polytheism and idolatry.

Though the immortality of the soul was the universal creed in the age of Moses, the case was far otherwise in the days of Christ. Many then taught, that the soul of man perishes with his body, and, consequently, that there would be no resurrection of the dead, nor state of future retribution. God, therefore, who from the beginning had determined to accomplish the redemption of man by Jesus Christ, and by him to put the righteous into the possession of that kingdom prepa-

red for them before the foundation of the world, was pleased to send him into the world at this period, to publish the doctrine of eternal life, and to assert his own divine commission to dispense this blessing. And what more proper evidence of both could there be, than his raising others to life, and his own resurrection and exaltation, as the reward of his obedient and benevolent death ? This was a demonstration, adapted to every capacity, of the possibility and certainty of our resurrection and of a state of future retribution. The *method* of our redemption from death by Jesus Christ is no doubt the voluntary appointment of God, and undiscoverable by reason ; nevertheless, so far is it from overturning, that it illustrates and confirms, the natural proofs of a future state, drawn from the moral perfections of the Deity, and at the same time removes every presumption against it, arising from the destruction of our present corporeal frame. The publication of this doctrine of life and immortality was never more necessary than in the time of Christ ; and
this

this was one reason amongst many others for his coming at that particular period.

9. A knowledge of the ancient idolatry is, in many cases, highly necessary to explain the *language* of antiquity. Opinions have a necessary influence upon language; and we are very liable to mistake the latter, while we are ignorant of the former. I will illustrate this article, as I did the last, by examples relative to a future state, which is so intimately connected with the subject of the following sheets.

It has been said, that, according to Herodotus⁹, the Egyptians were the first who asserted the immortality of the soul of man. Hence, some have been forward to conclude, that, in more ancient times, mankind believed that the soul perished

⁹ Herodot. l. 2. c. 123. Πρωτοι δε και τονδε τον λογον Αιγυπτιοι ειση ειποντες, ως ανθρωπος ψυχη αθανατος εστι· τω σωματος δε καταφθινοντος, ες αλλο ζων αιει γινομενον εσδυεται· επεαν δε περιελθη παντα τα χερσαια, και τα θαλασσια, και τα πετεινα, αυτις ες ανθρωπος σωμα γινομενον εσδυειν· την περιελθυσιν δε αυτη γινεσθαι εν τρισχιλίοισι ετεσσι.

with the body. But the meaning of Herodotus is mistaken. This historian, having pointed out a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Egyptians, in that the latter assigned to Ceres and Bacchus the sovereignty over the shades below*, or over the region of the dead; adds, that they also were the first who taught this doctrine concerning the immortality of the human soul, viz. that, upon the death of the body, it passed into another animal, till, after having in the space of three thousand years animated every species of living creatures in the air, upon the earth, and in the sea, it returns again into a human body. He farther informs us, that several Grecians claimed this doctrine as their own invention. According to Maximus Tyrius*, Pythagoras was the first who had courage to broach it in Greece, grounding it upon

* Τῶν κατω.

* Dissert. xxviii. p. 286 ed. Davif. Πυθαγορας δε ο Σαμιος πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐτολμησεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι αὐτὸ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τεθνήσκειται, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἀναπτᾶσα οἰχῆσεται ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως· καὶ γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὴν πρὶν ἢ κτεῖν δέουσι.

the pre-existence of the soul. From this account it appears, that the doctrine of the subsistence of separate souls in a subterraneous region was received by the Egyptians before that of their transmigration; and that the latter was an innovation, which was not relished by the Greeks when it was first published. Indeed, long before the time of the Samian philosopher, the Greeks worshipped their heroes, and consequently believed the immortality of the soul. And, amongst the Egyptians, the doctrine of its migration from a human to a brutal body must have been later than the worship of their ancient kings, who were thought to be translated immediately from earth to heaven. But it is impossible that the opinion of the everlasting duration of the soul should only be co-eval with that of its transmigration: for the latter necessarily presupposes a belief of the distinction between soul and body, and the permanence of the former, after the dissolution of the latter. If the soul perished
with

with the first body, it could not enter a second^t.

What I principally proposed under this head was, to shew how far a knowledge of the antiquity of the worship of dead men may enable us to fix the meaning of the word *death* in the threatening denounced against Adam^u. If human spirits were worshipped (as it will be shewn they

^t Some have pleaded that the belief of a future state took its rise from the funeral rites of the Egyptians, described by Diodorus Siculus*. It may be granted, that the fictions of the Greeks concerning the ferryman Charon, the river over which he was to carry the dead, the infernal judges, and Elysian fields, were borrowed from the customs of Egypt at the burial of their kings. But this was only *an illustration or description* of a future state, and was so far from giving rise to, that it manifestly presupposes, the belief of some such state amongst the Greeks. Besides, the Egyptian custom of sitting in judgement upon their dead kings could not be so ancient as that of deifying them; for it is scarce to be supposed, that they would use such freedom with the objects of their worship. Indeed the very reason of burying their kings in pleasant meadows was a prior persuasion that after death the soul did often inhabit, at least for a time, the place where the body was deposited.

* Lib. i. p. 102, 103, 107, 108. Ed. West.

^u Gen. ii. 17.

were)

were) in the age of Moses, particularly in Egypt and Phenicia, then the word *death* could not, at that time, and in those countries, denote more than the destruction of the bodily life: for, had this term farther included in it the insensibility or extinction of the soul, the dead would not have been honoured as gods. And, had Moses used it in this extensive sense, he would (as he well knew) have been misunderstood by the Egyptians, who asserted the immortality of the soul^w, and by the Hebrews, who dwelt amongst them, and had adopted their system of religion. He did not, however, in order to prevent their mistaking him, give notice of his using the word in a new and singular sense; and, therefore, he designed to express by it, what they did, the destruction of the body only. As this is a point on which

^w It appears from Herodotus that this principle was holden in very ancient times by the Egyptians, but their worship demonstrates that they held it before the time of Moses.

great stress is laid by different contending parties, I will take the liberty to suggest a few considerations, tending to confirm the foregoing interpretation of *death*.

It may be observed, in the first place, that, although one great design of Moses, in giving an account of the introduction of death into the world, was to guard against the worship of departed spirits, and, though nothing could have answered this design more effectually than representing the soul of Adam as a mere *quality*, or as the result of the peculiar structure and organization of his body; yet, so far is he from supposing this to be the case, that, according to him, after the body of the first man was perfectly organized by the immediate hand of heaven, he did not become a *living soul* or *person*^{*}, till God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life[†]: a principle distinct

* That *nephesh* often signifies *person* appears from Gen. xvii. 14. Levit. iv. 2. ch. vii. 20. and many other places.

† Gen. ii. 7.

from the dust out of which his body was formed, and, therefore, capable of subsisting in a state of separation from it. Nor does Moses use the same language in relating the formation of any other living creatures ; which is a proof that the principle of life in man is of a superior kind to that in brutes.

Secondly. The ancient patriarchs did not believe that the soul of man perished with his body. The most ancient opinion, concerning departed spirits, that we meet with in the heathen records, was, that they descended into a subterraneous region, or a place *invisible* to human sight, called by the Hebrews, *sheol*, and by the Greeks, *hades*^z; and that, in this place, persons of the same nation, tribe, and family, and also those who were united in the bonds of friendship, associated, and dwelt toge-

^z The Greeks assigned to Pluto, the son of Saturn, the sovereignty over the mansions of the dead : which supposes a previous persuasion, in the most ancient times, that souls had their abode in them. The regions of the dead are spoken of in Homer and the most ancient heathen writers.

conceive death to import the utter extinction of the soul, and therefore, would not affix this meaning to it himself. Nay,

Thirdly, we know, with certainty, that this prophet himself believed the separate subsistence of the soul, and has even given it a divine sanction : for he represents God, as making this promise to Abraham, *Thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace*^e. Was it possible for him, then, to maintain the opposite opinion ?

Fourthly, none of the sacred writers do ever describe death in terms different from those used by persons, who certainly acknowledged the continuance of the soul after it. If we read in the Psalms^f, that *the dead (rephaim, the ghosts) praise not God*, the son of Sirach^g affirms the same thing, at a time when it is allowed that the Jews did believe the soul to be immortal. In Scripture, I acknowledge, death is described by *sleep* ;

^e Gen. xv. 15.

^f Ps. lxxxviii. 10.

^g Ecclesiasticus xvii. 28.

but

but not to plead that sleep is not a state of non-existence, but of *rest*, it is well known that this soft image of death was commonly used to express the thing itself by those who asserted the existence of souls in *hades*^h. Other terms by which the state of the dead is described, such as *silence*, *oblivion*, *darkness*, and *corruption*, refer only to the body, or to the supposed state of the soul while it was in *sheol*, and are not peculiar to the sacred writers, but were common in all countriesⁱ, where both the popular belief and the established worship were inconsistent with the notion of the soul's perishing with the body. That strong expression of Rachel upon the death of her children, they *are not*^k, no more imports the non-existence of their souls than of the materials of their bodies; and means no more than that they were as totally lost to her and to this world as if they had no existence at all. The

^h See Homer, *Iliad* II. 454.

ⁱ See Windet de vita functorum statu, sect. 2. p. 11. et seq.

^k Jerem. xxxi. 15.

foregoing descriptions of death easily may, and necessarily must, be understood in a sense consistent with that universal creed of the ancients, and particularly of the sacred writers, that the soul remains after the body is destroyed. This interpretation will appear still more reasonable and necessary, when we consider that many of the terms, by which death was described in all countries, do clearly imply, and are built upon, a belief of the distinction between soul and body, and of their being separated at death. As, according to the Greeks, to *die* was to *depart*¹, to *go away*^m; so the writers of the New Testament describe death by a *departure*ⁿ, that is, of the soul from the body to another state. In this *departure*, therefore, they must have thought death to consist: and consequently the great Jewish prophet had the same idea of it. It must be observed,

¹ Ἀπερχεσθαι.

^m Οἰχεσθαι.

ⁿ Ἐξοδος, Luke ix. 31. See Grotius, Whitby, and Wetstein, on this place.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, that the foregoing explication of death will be greatly confirmed by considering the meaning of *life* as opposed to it. Those, I apprehend, whose departed spirits existed in *sheol*, were not represented as being *alive*, or as *living*, except in respect to the purpose of God to restore them to life. But, when their souls were removed from *sheol* or *hades*, and united a second time to a human body, then they were said to *live* again; being now restored to a life similar to what they had lost. This appears from the writings both of the Heathens and of the Jews. Amongst the Celts, says Diodorus Siculus, the doctrine of Pythagoras prevails; who held that the souls of men are immortal, that they pass into other bodies, and, after a certain determinate time, *live again*°. This refers to the period spoken of by Herodotus, after which souls returned

° Ειστχχει παρ' αυτοις ο Πυθαγορας λογος, οτι τας ψυχας των ανθρωπων αθανατες ειναι συμβεβηκε, και δι' ετων ωρισμενων παλιν ειναι, εις ετερον σωμα της ψυχης εισδυομενης. Diod. Sic. l. v. p. 352. West.

to *human* bodies. The grand *Lama* was said to die only in appearance; because he was supposed to be born in a new human body, in the very instant he quitted the old one^p.

It is of more importance still to examine the language and sentiments of the *Jews* on this subject. It is commonly allowed that the *Jews*, from the time of their return from *Babylon*^q, asserted the separate existence of the soul after death. This was the opinion not only of a few eminent individuals, such as *Philo*, but of those learned sects amongst them, the *Essenes*^r and *Pharisees*^s, and of the whole
body

^p Above, p. 126.

^q That they *always* held this principle appears from their imitation of the heathen idolatry, from their evocation of the dead, and from the early references in Scripture to the receptacle of departed souls, and many other proofs.

^r *Joseph. Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 8. §. 11. Εγγεται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡδε ἡ δοξα, — τὰς ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους αἰεὶ διαμένειν.*

^s They believed that the soul was immortal; ἀθανάτου ισχὺν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πιστὸς αὐτοῖς εἶναι; and that the souls of good men had (ἐξωστὴν τε ἀναΐειν) power to *revive* or *live* again.

body of the people^t, almost without exception^u, in the time of our Saviour. To this principle the Pharisees (the most numerous sect amongst the Jews, and whose doctrine formed the popular creed) added another, viz. the resurrection of the dead^w. These two principles were thought to be closely connected. The Sadducees believed the extinction of the soul at death, and did not admit the resurrection: the Pharisees, on the other hand, admitted the latter and denied the former. I cannot find a single example, before the time of Christ,

again. Joseph Antiq. l. 18. c. 1. §. 3. The same historian, in his Bel. Jud. l. 2. c. 8. §. 14. confirms the above account of them: they believed that every soul was *incorruptible*; but that *the soul of the good alone went into another body*; μεταβαίνειν εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν μόνην.

^t The people followed the Pharisees.

^u The Sadducees were the only exception. They taught that the soul perished with the body. Σαδδουκαίοις δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς οὐ λογίζονται συναφανίζει τοὺς σῶμασι. Joseph. Antiq. l. 18. c. 1. §. 4. Ψυχῆς τε τὴν διαμοῖν — ἀναίρεσι. B. IX. l. 2. c. 8. §. 14. Act. xxiii.

^w See above, note ^s, and Acts xxiii. 8. The Jews in general agreed with the Pharisees in maintaining a resurrection. Acts xxiv. 15.

of a person, who believed the resurrection of the dead, that did not at the same time allow the permanence of the soul after death. The Jews expressed the resurrection by the terms, *reviviscence, living again*, that is, a return to the same kind of life as their former one. This appears from a passage already cited^x, and may be confirmed by many others. *The king of the world shall raise us up unto everlasting life*, said one of the seven children spoken of in the book of Maccabees^y; which is equivalent to that language of their mother, *God will give you life and breath again*^z. She also applies to them those words of God, *I kill, and I make alive*. Those who died for the law were encouraged to expect a *reviviscence*^a.

The question here is, what is meant by this *reviviscence*, or return to life, by which the resurrection is def-

^x See above, note ^a.

^y 2 Maccab. vii. 9.

^z Ib. v. 22.

^a Παλιγγενεσια. Josephus, de Maccab. p. 1101, E. F. ap. Whitby on Mat. xxii. 30, p. 191.

cribed? Did the Jews hereby mean creating anew the soul that had been destroyed? If this be a thing possible in it's nature, it could not possibly be their meaning; because they did not allow that the former soul perished at death. Did they believe that man had no soul, and therefore that his resurrection consisted in the re-organization of his former body or in furnishing him with a new body, organized as that was? This is a flat contradiction to their belief of the distinction between soul and body, and the separate existence of the former. What then did they or could they mean by the resurrection to life, but the restoration of that kind of life which they had lost, by the reunion of their souls to a human body, either the very same that they had before, or one in effect the same? In virtue of this re-union, the *dead* man became a *living* man, the same as he was before he died, with the same consciousness and recollection, the principle of consciousness having never perished.

Hence they speak of the martyrs as being *received, dying*^b, by Abraham; and represent the souls of the righteous in the intermediate state as being *in the hand of God, and having hopes full of immortality*^c, or of a resurrection to eternal life. Farther to confirm the preceding account of a resurrection and reviviscence, I must observe that Josephus, who on all occasions asserted the separate existence of the soul^d, has himself explained these terms by the return of the soul of a dead person to it's body. Elijah, according to this historian, having promised to restore a dead child to his mother *alive*^e, prayed to God *to send back his soul into him, and to grant him life*^f, and the child *lived again*^g.

^b Whitby, ubi supra.

^c Wisdom, iii. 1, 4.

^d Possessing demons, according to him, were the souls of wicked men. Bel. Jud. 1. 7. c. 6. §. 3. He was a Pharisee, and consequently had adopted the principles of his sect. See above, note ^a, p. xxxvi.

^e Ζωτα.

^f Εδειτο τε την ψυχην εισπεμψαι παλιν τω παιδι, και πα-
ρασχειν αυτω τον βιον. Joseph. Antiq. 1. 8. c. 13. §. 3.
Comp. 1 Kings xvii. 21.

^g Ανεβιωσεν.

I do not appeal to the Jews as authorities to determine points of doctrine, nor can I assent to all that they have said concerning the condition of the soul in the interval between death and the resurrection. The only use I would make of them is to shew, in what sense certain words were used in and near the time of Christ, in order to explain the language of Scripture. If, in the time here referred to, the terms, *resurrection*, *reviviscence*, or *living again*, as used both by Jews and Gentiles, denoted the reunion of a soul to a human body; the same terms, when adopted by Christ and his apostles, must have the same meaning. Every one would understand them in their common and ordinary signification. If, in the interpretation of the language of the sacred writers, we are not guided and determined by the use of the same language by their contemporaries, fancy alone must be our interpreter. Now, if we know what life, when it expresses

ses the resurrection, is, we cannot but understand the meaning of *death* it's opposite; and, consequently, as the former signifies the soul's return to a human body, the latter denotes it's separation. Both terms imply the continuance of the soul after death: a principle held universally in the most ancient times^a, and which gives great probability to the doctrine of a resurrection: a doctrine of the highest importance in the view of all Christians, and the grand object of their faith and hope.

10. I might proceed to shew, that, without a clear knowledge of the ancient idolatry we cannot vindicate the laws of Moses, nor do justice to the character of that divine legislator. But I cannot enlarge here upon this subject without anticipating what, I hope, will come under future consideration.

The observations, that have been made on the great utility of being well ac-

^a It was holden, we have seen, by Heathens and Jews, by patriarchs and prophets, and by the people, particularly in the times of Moses and the Messiah.

quainted with the objects and rites of heathen worship, are equally applicable to almost all the opinions and customsⁱ of antiquity, to which the Scriptures continually refer. What an agreeable use has Mr. Harmer made of his extensive knowledge of them, in a work, as instructive as it is entertaining!^k For want of this knowledge, Christians have mistaken pagan tenets for the genuine doctrines of the Gospel. The language of the Fathers is unintelligible by those who are not well acquainted with the opinions which prevailed, before their times, in the schools of the heathen philosophers. And the expositors, who have thrown most light upon the Scriptures, are such as had the largest acquaintance with pagan antiquity.

The foregoing reflections, however *defective*, are, nevertheless, a sufficient apology for any attempt to bring those ac-

ⁱ See the learned Mr. Parkhurst's Preface to his Hebrew Lexicon.

^k Observations on divers passages of Scripture.

quainted

quainted with the heathen religion, who have no leisure to search the records of antiquity. My design is to lay before them such facts as shall enable them to form a judgement for themselves upon the subject, without relying upon the decision of others. I propose,

I. To shew the general prevalence of the worship of human spirits in the ancient heathen world.

II. To enquire into the grounds of this and every other species of idolatry, or into the principles upon which the whole system of polytheism was built.

III. To consider the high antiquity of idolatry, and more especially of that species of it, the worship of human gods. And,

IV. To examine how far the representation of the pagan gods, in Scripture, agrees with that made of them in the writings of the Heathens; or, how far the two accounts mutually illustrate and confirm each other.

The first of these articles, alone, is the subject of the present publication; and

it

it is established upon evidence independent of the rest ; so that it may be fitly considered as a distinct treatise, such as might have been published by itself, though no other were to follow. But the other articles are in a state of great preparation for the press.

The subject of the following sheets was touched upon in a former publication, but was then necessarily circumscribed within narrow bounds. Here it is examined at large : and a wider compass is taken than any former writer, that I have seen, had done. A very pardonable zeal, to support the reputation of the antient nations, has of late disposed some learned writers to take pains to clear several of them from the reproach of worshipping dead men. It has been said by some, that this worship did not obtain amongst the antient *Persians*. Others have affirmed the same concerning the *Germans*, before their conquest by the Romans. A foreigner of great distinction, *Jablonski*, has attempted to prove that dead
men

men were not worshipped by the *Egyptians*. Dr. Blackwell, in his *Letters on Mythology*¹, maintains that the gods of the *greater nations* were the deified parts and powers of the universe. And Mr. Bryant, second to none in the knowledge of antiquity, though he could not but allow that the Heathens regarded their own gods as deified mortals, yet contends that they were mistaken^m. To these modern writers I might oppose a great number of other moderns no way inferior to them; but the question before us must be determined by evidence.

There is another writerⁿ, whom I should never have thought of in any connection with those already mentioned, had he had not transcribed the objections of Dr. Blackwell; which he has done without acknowledging his obligation. This gentleman has been pleased to ho-

¹ P. 276, 277, 278, et passim. He can scarce be understood as speaking of the objects of the established worship. See p. 209.

^m Mr. Bryant's *Mythology*. V. 1. p. 454, 455.

ⁿ The Rev. J. Fell, in a treatise entitled *Demoniacs*.

nour me with his notice, and to oblige me with an uncommon measure of abuse. With equal candour and penetration he compliments me with sinister motives and disguised infidelity^o. His censures may do me credit; most certainly they disgrace none but himself. They discover to the world what spirit he is of, and what opinion he entertained of his own cause, which he could not support without the aid of calumny. There is another circumstance in his conduct which does him no honour, and farther serves to shew his distress: I refer to his continually perverting my language from its natural and obvious meaning, and to his misrepresenting my sentiments so grossly, that I should have often been at a loss to know against whom his performance was written, had he not informed us.

Whether his misrepresentations are wilful or not, let others form what judgment they please: it is a matter of no concern to any one but himself: I barely

^o Ib. p. 412, 413.

state the fact. The account he has given, not only of my sentiments but even of those of the most respectable writers of antiquity, is so very remote from the truth, that, to whatever cause it is to be ascribed, I determined from the first never to write any thing *merely* in answer to him. Such answer must have entirely consisted in shewing that he either could not or would not understand the plainest language; an undertaking which could yield neither pleasure nor benefit to the reader, nor throw any new light upon the controversy. Nevertheless, when I had resolved, on reasons which had no relation to this gentleman, to lay before the public my view of the heathen gods, I judged it not improper to point out his errors upon this subject, in order to furnish a *specimen* of his manner of writing, without which it would have appeared incredible that any one could write in the manner he has done. That part of his performance here animadverted upon was selected from the rest, on account
of

of it's connection with the subject of the following sheets, and because it has been thought to carry with it a greater face of probability than any other. It is certainly liable to fewer objections.

Controversies, when properly conducted, are of eminent use to mankind. They arrest the attention more than general reasonings, and awaken a spirit of inquiry, to which, under God, we owe all our improvements in science, and every just idea we have formed of religion. By occasioning a more perfect investigation of subjects, they assist in the detection of error and in the discovery of truth. They have a natural tendency to soften our prejudices against those who differ from us in opinion, by shewing us how much they can offer in their own defence. By opening and enlarging the mind, they serve to cure that bigotry, which is not peculiar to any one sect or party, but common to all who have strong passions and prejudices, and narrow views of things, and who never read

d any

any thing that is written against their own favourite tenets. On the other hand, when controversies degenerate into personal altercation and abuse, or are supported by forced constructions and gross misrepresentations, they are a disgrace to the parties, and of no service to the public.

Those misrepresentations, which I have had so much reason to complain of in others, I have used the utmost caution to avoid myself. And it is no small presumption of my care in this respect, that, notwithstanding my numerous citations both from ancient and modern writers, Dr. Worthington, a gentleman of real learning, whom I had censured for his misrepresentations, (though he might be deemed quite accurate in comparison with Mr. Fell,) has not, if my memory does not fail me, retorted the charge, except in one single instance, for which there was no foundation^p.

In

^p The following is the exact state of the case. In letters to Dr. Worthington, p. 112, in a note, I said,

Dr.

In all points of importance I have
either cited the original words of my
d 2 vouchers,

Dr. Mill is positive, they (the words *τον εσχηκοτα τον λε-
γεωνα*, *him that had the legion*, Mark v. 15.) *are an in-
terpolation.* Dr. Worthington (in his *Farther Enquiry*,
p. 164.) says, “ he turned to the place in Dr. Mill’s
“ New Testament; and, to his great surprise, found
“ *the very reverse* of what I had represented him to
“ have maintained.” He adds, “ Dr. Mill, in truth,
“ *only* tells you, that these words were wanting in a-
“ bout five or six ancient manuscripts; that the Syriac
“ and Arabic had them; and that Grotius thought the
“ passage ought to be retained.” Now, if Dr. Mill
on the place has *only* told us what others thought of it,
without making any mention of his own opinion con-
cerning it, how could Dr. Worthington assert he had
found the *very reverse* of what I had affirmed to be true?
To make good his assertion, he should have shewn, that
Dr. Mill was positive the passage was *not* an interpola-
tion. But, I had asserted that Dr. Mill was positive
that it was, and Dr. Worthington charges the assertion
with *deceit*; and concludes with this admonition, *Let
this author never more accuse others of misrepresentation*, p.
165. Had Dr. Worthington looked into Dr. Mill’s
prolegomena, where he was more likely to find his senti-
ments of the passage in question than upon the place
where it was his proper business to state the sentiments
of others concerning it, he would have found that Dr.
Mill was, as I had affirmed, *positive it was an interpola-
tion*. He says it CERTAINLY was a marginal gloss, and
rejects

vouchers, or made particular references to them. Their own words are cited in matters of the first moment, that hereby the reader may consult the vouchers himself, which he may have no other opportunity of doing. Citations at length, from authors who wrote in the learned languages, and are the chief support of a cause, are then peculiarly necessary when the argument depends upon the exact rendering of the original words, and

rejects the opinion of Grotius, in the following terms :
 Mar. v. 15. Τον εσχηκοτα τον λεγωνα, *retinendum censet, cum agnoscant Syrus et Arabs. Verum abest a Steph. β Cantab. Colb. 1. et codice Vulgati; et utcunque jam in libros propemodum omnes irreperit, haud aliud certe initio erat, quam marginale scholion, adscriptum e regione τῶ δαιμονιζομενον, in quod quum incidisset mox scriba, textûsque partem esse crederet, reposuit illud in inferiori parte sententiæ, loco non suo. Prolegom. N° 1361. p. 146. ed. Kuster. 1710. And in N° 411. he says concerning the words in question, commentarius est, non textus. Nullum ejus vestigium est apud Lucam, Marki sectatorem. However, in justice to the deceased, it ought to be observed, that it is some excuse for him that I had omitted to refer to Dr. Mill's Prolegomena; which however he ought to have examined before he passed his censure.*

and their meaning is either doubtful or disputed: for, in this case, a strong desire of supporting an hypothesis may insensibly bias an honest writer, and incline him to prefer that meaning of the words of his author, which, though less natural, is most favourable to his views. I am so far therefore from making an apology for the long and frequent citations from the authorities, appealed to on the principal points, that I consider them as the chief recommendation of this work. In matters of secondary moment, though I have not cited my authors at large, yet I have, as often as there was occasion, made such particular references to them as will enable the reader to consult them with ease and without loss of time. This method on controverted points is most for the benefit of readers, and precludes all suspicion of unfair dealing on the part of the writer.

The contrary proceeding is unsatisfactory to those accustomed to examine
 general

general references. It leaves room to doubt of the accuracy of a writer, however well assured we may be of his fidelity. And it is the most likely way to escape detection, if a writer can so far forget his duty, and disregard his reputation, as to be willing to impose upon the credulity of his readers. This indeed is a case that seldom happens, and can never happen where there is any degree either of honour or of prudence.

How it so fell out, there is no occasion to inquire, but certain it is in fact, that a late writer, though he says^a, *He hopes some allowance will be made for frequent and necessary quotations, to make it evident that he does not impute to any author opinions which he never maintained*, is remarkably defective in this respect. Indeed he could not but be so in some cases ; I mean, when his own voucher did not contain the sentiment ascribed to him. But he scarce ever cites the ancients in their own languages, even though the ar-

^a Fell's Demoniacs, Introduction, p. viii.

gument depends upon the exactness of the translation. As to his references, for the most part they are only general, and cannot be easily found by those who have most occasion to consult them, such as have only a slender acquaintance with ancient writers. In some instances, I acknowledge, his references are particular and exact; but they happen to be quite otherwise when *he imputes to authors*, as we shall see he does, *opinions which they never maintained*. Be this the effect of accident or design, it is certainly a reason for reading Mr. Fell with singular caution.



CORRIGENDA.

- Page 125, note ^a, line 2, *for that read this.*
140, line 13, *for told Herodotus read said.*
142, note ^a, *for 150 read 156.*
152, line 2, *read, after whom he was denominated.*
369, note *, line 17, *for comical read conical.*
402, note ¹, line 1, *for inert read ineft.*
476, line 2, *for has read have.*

DELEND A.

- 140, line 15, *dele the oldest of their gods.*
177, line 6, *dele and Egyptians.*
183, note ^a, line 6, *dele and the Egyptians.*

ADDENDA.

- 36, at the end of note ^c, *add Vossius de Idololat. l. I. c. 35, p. 134.*
127, at the end of note ^y, *add Voss. de Idololat. p. 95.*
224, at the end of note ¹, *add p. 147.*
396, note ¹, line 2, *after Commodus add p. 72.*

Corrected.



THE
GENERAL PREVALENCE
OF THE
Worship of HUMAN SPIRITS,
IN THE
ANCIENT HEATHEN NATIONS,
ASSERTED AND PROVED.

BEFORE I offer any thing in
proof of the general worship
of human spirits amongst the
ancient Heathens, it will be
proper briefly to review the account I
had given of their gods in a former pub-
lication^a; both that we may be able to

^a Dissertation on miracles, ch. III. sect. ii.

B determine,

determine, whether there be any pertinence or force in the objections which have been urged against that account; and that, at the same time, the way may be prepared for what I propose farther to advance on the subject of the pagan theology.

I. It was not only admitted, but also by a variety of testimonies largely proved, “ that the Heathens deified the world,” together “ with it’s most illustrious parts “ and active principles, the elements, the “ heavens and all their host”^b. It was also allowed, that these *natural gods* “ were the *first* deities of all the idolatrous nations”^c. And therefore to produce new proofs of these points, (which it is easy to do,) though it may have the appearance of opposing, is in reality to confirm, the doctrine of the Dissertation on miracles concerning the heathen gods. It did not fall in with the design of that performance, to treat more fully concerning the deification of the

^b Ib. p. 169-172.

^c P. 172.

objects of nature. But more than enough* was said upon the subject, to render it impossible for any man to doubt, whether I allowed, that the Heathens asserted the divinity of nature and it's component parts.

II. It was farther shewn^d, that, besides the deified parts and powers of nature, the Heathens acknowledged *demons*: a term, with whatever latitude^e it may be sometimes used, yet, when demons are contradistinguished (as they were by me on this occasion^f) from the natural or celestial gods, always denotes those *subaltern deities*, who were supposed to carry on all intercourse between the celestial gods and men, and to have the entire administration of the government of this lower world committed to them; and who hereby became the objects of immediate dependence and divine worship. In this sense the term was large-

* See p. 231.

^d P. 174.

^e Letters to Worthington, p. 29.

^f Dissert. on mir. p. 169, 174, 175.

ly explained in the Dissertation^f. Immediately after giving this explication, I proceeded to controvert the opinion of those, who teach, “ that the demons of the Heathens were spirits of “ a higher origin than the human race”^g: and then inferred, from the reflections which had been offered, that, though the Heathens, and particularly some of the latest philosophers, fancied there was a higher^h order of demons, yet that “ this “ higher order of them is not so frequently spoken of as is generally supposed; and that the common hypothesis is built upon weak groundsⁱ.” I then added, (what clearly shews how far I rejected that hypothesis,)

“ I shall now assign those reasons “ which induce me to think, that, by “ demons, (such, I mean, as were *the* “ *more immediate objects of the established* “ *worship* amongst the ancient nations,

^f P. 174, 175.

^g P. 176.

^h P. 183, note ^f. See also note ^r in p. 204, 220.

ⁱ P. 183.

“ particularly

“ particularly the Egyptians, Greeks,
 “ and Romans,) we are to understand
 “ beings of an earthly origin, or such
 “ departed human souls as were believed
 “ to become demons”^k.

This is the proposition which I undertook to establish. Here it is of great importance to observe,

1. That there is nothing in this proposition inconsistent with allowing (what had been before proved) that the Heathens acknowledged and worshipped celestial or natural gods. For, the only subject of the proposition is *demons*, considered as a distinct order of deities from those styled natural; and therefore the latter could not be included in it. Nay, the very description of demons as the more *immediate* objects of worship does

^k P. 183, 184. It is scarce necessary to observe, that the same human spirits that were called *demons*, when distinguished from elementary and sidereal deities, as they are above; yet, on other occasions, are frequently called *gods*. And sometimes they are distinguished from each other by the different denominations of *gods*, *demons*, and *heroes*, according to their different ranks.

itself imply, that there were *ultimate* objects of it, who could be no other than those celestial gods, whose agents and ministers¹ the former were supposed to be. Farther,

2. The preceding proposition has no relation to the *gods* held only by the *philosophers*. The theistic philosophers not only asserted the divinity of the parts and powers of nature, but explained *physically*, what was understood *literally* or *historically* by the people respecting the gods. It may be allowed, that the philosophers entertained very just notions of the true God; and that they described him and the natural gods by the term demon; (which is indeed sometimes used in a large sense as equivalent to a *deity*^m.) But all these gods are out of the question. The term *demons* is used in the proposition in a restrained sense, to express the subaltern deities, and was so explained. It is limited to such demons as were the

¹ Dissert. on mir. p. 174, 175.

^m Letters to Worthington, p. 29.

objects of the *established worship*; or (as it is elsewhere expressed) of *popular adoration*,^a and *public devotion*,^o to whom alone the sacrifices were offered, (while the celestial gods were worshipped only with a pure mind, or with hymns and praises.^p)

3. The truth of the foregoing proposition cannot be affected by the peculiar doctrine of the *philosophers* concerning *demons*, when they apply the term to spirits who were supposed to hold a middle rank between the gods and men. It was admitted and proved in the Dissertation,^p that some of the philosophers did assert the existence of demons of a celestial origin, or of such as had never been men. Many more proofs of the same point might have been produced, had the occasion required them. But the opinion of the philosophers concerning the existence of celestial demons, even supposing it to be true, cannot disprove the truth of the proposition under consideration, unless it can be shewn,

^a P. 186.^o P. 176.^p Note ^h above.

that these demons were the objects of the national established worship amongst the Heathens. Nothing can be plainer, than that the proposition only affirms, that the demons described in it were beings of an earthly origin. Every objection therefore, that is drawn from what any of the ancients taught concerning demons that do not answer to that description, must be foreign from the point⁹.

4. When the proposition speaks of such demons as were the more immediate objects of the established worship amongst the ancient nations; this can respect only those nations in which *some* demons or subaltern deities, either celestial or terrestrial, were acknowledged. The proposition supposes this to be the case in several nations, and particularly specifies the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, but without excluding all other people. It is capable of being extended

⁹ Compare what is said concerning the philosophers, Dissert. p. 189, 190.

to all who, besides the natural gods, worshipped demons.

Nevertheless, I had a more especial reference to the nations that were in the most civilized state, and to those whose demons are spoken of in Scripture. It was said in express terms', "that my
" main design would be answered, if it
" could be shewn, that the more imme-
" diate objects of divine worship *in the*
" *most polished heathen nations* were deified
" mortals." And that I had a peculiar view to the nations whose demons are spoken of in Scripture, appears from the declaration', that *my main design was to explain and justify the Scripture representation of the heathen deities*; from the title of the section in which this subject is handled, *The Scripture representation of the nature and claims of the heathen gods, considered*'; from the words that introduce the section, and state the subject of it, *The gods of the Heathens taken notice of in Scripture*'; and from the apology" made

' Dissert. p. 185. ' Ibid. ' P. 169. " P. 231.

for the long account given of them, it's *importance to a just defence of the Scripture*. The nations, to whose gods the Scriptures refer, are those which bordered upon Judea, or in which Christian churches were planted; and these were of all others the most improved in science.

To these nations my views were confined, and from them my proofs were drawn. Nor can the proposition be extended to the nations stiled *barbarous*, if they worshipped only the natural gods. To such nations these gods were not the *ultimate*, but the *sole*, objects of worship. And no one could be so absurd as to set himself to prove, that those, who had no demons of any kind, worshipped one particular species of demons. It was admitted^w, that, in the opinion of Plato, *many* (not *most*, as Mr. Fell^x misinterprets the original^y) of the Barbarians in his
time

^w Id. p. 173, note f. ^x P. 9.

^y Πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. Platon. Cratyl. tom. i. p. 397, C. ed. Serrani, 1578. This language may import no more than that, amongst the barbarous people bordering upon

time held only the natural gods. It could not be my intention to include such Barbarians in the proposition.

Let us now examine whether a late writer has given a just account of this subject. He has twice referred to the preceding proposition, and cited a part of it, but with such alterations or omissions as effectually disguise it's true meaning. When he is opposing my notion of the heathen *gods*, he omits the word *demons*;² though these subaltern gods were, as I have shewn, the only subjects of the proposition. And, when he is proving that the Heathens had demons of a different kind from those of human extract, (a point admitted by me,) he suppresses³ all the words in the proposition upon Greece, there were several tribes which still worshipped only the elements and heavenly bodies. This was not true concerning the *great nations* in general; (as will be shewn in the sequel;) to these therefore Plato cannot refer, His expression implies, that the polished nations acknowledged other gods besides the natural; and that some at least of the barbarians did so too.

² Fell, p. 30.

³ Fell, p. 91. Comp. Dissert. on mir. p. 183.

which

which were inserted to shew, that it respected only *such* demons as were *the more immediate objects of the established worship* in certain nations. To point out the limitation of the proposition to these demons, the words that express it were printed in Italics, as they are above^b. Nevertheless, his objections proceed on the false supposition, that the proposition was to be understood universally of all demons.

Besides mutilating the proposition under consideration, in a manner that must mislead his readers in the judgement they formed of it, and consequently of the main point in debate; the gentleman has placed another proposition before them, and left them to suppose it to be mine in it's most unlimited signification. "No opinion," he observes^c, "can be more erroneous than this, *That all the pagan deities had once been men.*" In what part of the *Dissertation*, this, or any such, assertion is to be found, the gentleman has not informed his readers:

^b P. 4.^c Fell, p. 30.

an omission with which he is often chargeable. He might possibly have in view here (as he has elsewhere) the place^d in which it is affirmed, that the writers of the Old Testament “very properly described the “heathen gods as *dead* persons;” and that they were “nothing more.”^e But it is at the very same time observed, “that the “writers of the Old Testament knew, “that the Heathens believed in elementary and sidereal deities;” and that the reason why they described their gods as dead persons was, “because it was to “such that the public worship was more “*immediately* directed.”^f Under this limitation, or with respect to those demons whom I had described as the more immediate objects of public worship, I must be understood as speaking, when, upon the authority of the sacred writers (as will be shewn hereafter) I represented

^d Dissert. p. 197.

^e Ib. note ^h.

^f I might have added, that these gods did in a great measure *ingross* the public devotion. (See Dissert. p. 176.)

the heathen gods as nothing more than dead persons. What was spoken professedly concerning *one* class or order of gods, as contradistinguished from *another*, could not, by fair reasoning, be applied to both. If any such general expressions as that we have been examining, occur in any other part of the Dissertation; which (if ever) they very rarely do, and then only incidentally, they ought in all reason to be limited to the subjects of the proposition, in which I was professedly stating the point I meant to establish; especially as terms expressive of this limitation are almost always used, in order to guard against mistakes; and frequent explicit acknowledgements are made of the Heathens asserting the divinity of the elements and heavenly bodies*. Could I conceive it possible, that I should be charged (as I am in effect) with affirming, that the following heathen gods, the sun, moon, and stars, and the elements of fire, air, earth, and water, were nothing more than

* See Dissert. p. 231-233.

dead men? No one can fasten such an absurdity upon me, but by explaining the Dissertation, as too many do the Scriptures, as if it was composed of distinct independent sentences, that have no connexion with each other.

Farther, Mr. Fell frequently makes an addition to my text, and inserts into it the word *all*, without any warrant; particularly in the following passage: “ Mr. Farmer would make us believe, that Herodotus meant to say, that the Greeks looked upon *all* their gods to have been of the human race.”^a I must add, that, when he speaks of “ the system which represents *all* demons as nothing more than the spirits of departed men”; he manifestly refers to me, though my system neither makes, nor requires, such a representation.

By the several methods here specified, and others of a similar nature, the gentleman conveys into the minds of his

^a Fell, p. 27, 28. Dissert. p. 186, 187.

^b Fell's introduction, p. xv.

readers a false impression of the main point I undertook to establish. This impression is continually renewed and rivetted by the general strain of his reasoning; which supposes that I meant to prove, "that all the heathen gods were "human spirits"; and not merely (as was the real case) "that the demons of a "certain description were such." There are but few so very dull of apprehension, as not to perceive the difference between these two propositions; or to want to be informed, that arguments, which may overturn the former, cannot affect the latter. This misrepresentation of the point upon which the whole argument turns (had there been no other instance of misrepresentation to produce) might well justify me in saying, that I should not have known against whom Mr. Fell was writing, had he suppressed my name. Nevertheless, the gentleman sets out (in a manner well calculated to prevent all suspicion of unfair dealing) with shewing of what importance

tance it is, that those *who differ in their sentiments, when they write one against another, should calmly and EXACTLY state the particular articles concerning which they differ.*¹ Why did not the gentleman follow this useful and necessary rule ?

But I will not animadvert upon his conduct ; only, in justice to myself, must observe, that his mutilating my proposition ; his substituting another in it's room, without taking any notice of it's necessary limitation ; and his making additions to my text ; these several circumstances are a tacit confession, that he could not support his account of my sentiments by any fair construction of my language. If his misrepresentations are mere mistakes, they are (in some sense) fortunate mistakes for him ; being apparently necessary to give a colour to his reasonings, and to procure for himself the appearance of a victory over his opponent : for, had the subject been truly

¹ Fell's introduction, p. viii. ix.

stated, these ends could not have been answered ; and his readers would have smiled at the satisfaction and confidence, with which he urges objections foreign from the purpose.

Mr. Fell^k begins with appealing to the ancient theogonies, particularly that of Hesiod, in order to prove, *that the greatest part of those deities to whom the Heathens sacrificed were by them considered as existing prior to the creation of man.* An argument of this sort from the theogonies was suggested by the learned and ingenious author of *Letters concerning Mythology*,¹ universally ascribed to Dr. Blackwell,

^k P. 1.

¹ P. 211, 212, 213. Whoever is desirous of seeing how closely Mr. Fell copies Dr. Blackwell, may compare together the following passages. In p. 212, the doctor says, *Hesiod's theogony — is substantially the same with Orpheus's holy word, — in which he (Orpheus) explained points of no less importance than the births of the gods, the creation of the world, and formation of man.* Mr. Fell, p. 5, adopts his language ; (with only such an alteration of it as shews his desire of concealing his obligation ;) *His (Hesiod's) theogony contains the same plan with that ascribed to Orpheus. — They (Hesiod, Orpheus, and others)*
all

well, but employed by him to a more reasonable purpose than by Mr. Fell. The former, if I understand him aright, urges it only to prove, that the Heathens deified nature and it's various parts and powers, and that these were their primary gods. Both these propositions were admitted by me; and the former of them is capable of the clearest proof ^m. But the argument, as stated and applied by Mr. Fell, is not only founded upon a bold, not to say false, assertion ⁿ; but has no relation to

C 2 the

all attempt to explain things of no less moment than the original of their gods, the creation of the world, and the formation of man.

^m See above, p. 2.

ⁿ Mr. Fell asserts, “ that *the greatest part* of those deities, to whom the Heathens sacrificed, were by them considered as existing prior to the creation of man.” The number of the heathen gods was comparatively small at first; but they increased afterwards, to such a degree, that the wretched Atlas could scarce support the weight of so many new divinities.

————— Contentaque fidera paucis
Numinibus miserum urgebant Atlanta minori
Pondere. Juvenal. Sat. xiii. v. 47.

The

the proper point in dispute. The question is not, whether the Heathens believed in gods of an earlier origin than the human race ; but, whether such demons as were the more immediate objects of the established worship in certain nations were not dead men. Hesiod himself (to whom Mr. Fell appeals) shall decide the controversy : for, (as our great chronologer observes,^o) Hesiod^p, *describing the four ages of the gods and demigods of Greece, represents them to be four generations of men.* I add, that Plato^q had long before taken notice, *that all those who die valiantly in war are of Hesiod's golden generation, and become de-*

The men of the golden age, who became demons, were thirty thousand, Hesiod. Oper. et Dier. l. i. v. 250. But these were nothing in comparison with the vast number of human spirits which were worshipped in different parts of the world : for most nations sacrificed at the tombs of their ancestors, and to their domestic gods. See Varro, concerning the *dii manes*, ap. August. Civ. Dei, l. 8, c. 26.

^o Sir Is. Newton, Chron. p. 162.

^p Oper. et Dier. l. 1, v. 108.

^q De Rep. l. 5, p. 469. Dissert. on mir. p. 191.

mons; and that we ought for ever to worship and adore their sepulchres as the sepulchres of demons.

But I do not propose to examine all the objections of this gentleman by themselves. Opportunities of animadverting upon them will occur in the execution of my plan, without my going out of the way to meet them. My design is to shew at large, that human spirits were generally worshipped by the ancient Heathens. The proofs of this point either respect particular nations, or are of a more general nature, and equally respect all the most celebrated nations of antiquity. It is with the objects of worship in the latter that we are best acquainted; and to them all men more peculiarly refer, when they speak in general of the heathen gods. In the course of our argument it will be shewn, that, in these nations, not only were dead men and women deified, but that such deities were considered

as their *greatest* gods, and even as the *sole* objects of the established worship, almost, if not altogether, without exception. I mean, that it was to human gods that the established worship was more immediately and properly directed, in all, or almost all, cases whatsoever. What reference it had to the deified parts or powers of nature will not come under consideration here.

I shall begin with laying before the reader those proofs of the worship of human spirits, amongst the ancient Heathens, which respect particular nations. The ancient gentile nations may be divided into two classes, such as are usually accounted *barbarous*, and such as were *polished by learning*. And I propose to prove, by heathen testimonies, that in *most* of the former, and in *all* the latter, divine honours were paid to the dead.

C H A P,

C H A P. I.

Proving, from the testimonies of the Heathens, that they paid religious honours to dead men in the nations styled barbarous, or that were in an uncivilized state.

THOUGH in treating, in a former publication, of such heathen demons as were the objects of established worship, I had no direct view to the barbarous nations ; and though the proposition I then undertook to prove could have no respect to such of them as did not acknowledge any demons^{*}; yet a late opponent fancied he should refute me, if he could shew that some of these nations worshipped only the natural gods. The attempt was not very judicious ; what his success is, will be seen

^{*} Above, p. 8-11.

hereafter. I shall first of all examine, whether human spirits were worshipped in the barbarous nations taken notice of by Mr. Fell; and then inquire how far this was the case with those which he has omitted.

S E C T. I.

Shewing, from the testimony of the Heathens, that most even of those barbarous nations, which have been said to worship only the natural gods, paid divine honours to deceased men.

IN the eight barbarous nations that follow, the Scythians, the Massagettes, the Getes, the Goths, the Germans, the Persians, the Arabians, and the inhabitants of Meroe, no deceased heroes were worshipped, according to a late writer.

I. With respect to the *Scythians*, we are told by Herodotus¹, that the only gods

¹ Θεοὺς μὲν μὲνους τῶσδε ἱλασκόνται, Ἰσθὺν μὲν μαλίστα, ἐπὶ δὲ, Δία τε καὶ Γῆν, νομιζόντες τὴν Γῆν τῷ Δίῳ εἶναι γυναῖκα.

gods whom they all worshipped, were principally *Vesta*, called by them *Tabiti*; then *Jupiter* and his wife *Gee* the earth, denominating the first *Papæus*, the second *Apia*; and after these *Apollo* and the celestial *Venus* (called in their language *Oetosyrus* and *Artimpasa*); and *Hercules* and *Mars*. The historian adds, that the royal Scythians sacrifice also to *Neptune*.

Mr. Fellⁿ, copying after Dr. Blackwell^w, considers *Oetosyrus* and *Artimpasa* as the names of the *sun* and *moon*; and explains *Hercules* and *Mars* by the powers of war. Though I feel the weight of Dr. Blackwell's authority, yet it cannot, I apprehend, be proved from Herodotus, that the Scythians worshipped the parts and powers of nature exclusively of human spirits, or even that the latter were not the immediate objects of their worship. Most of the Scythian gods (if not

μετα δε τετες, Απολλωνα τε, και ηρανην Αφροδιτην, και Ηρακλεια, και Αρεα* τετες μιν παντες οι Σκυθαι νενομικασι* οι δε βασιλαιοι Σκυθαι και τω Πωσειδεωνι θυουσιν. κ. τ. λ. Herodot.

l. 4. c. 59.

* P. 8.

^w Mythol. p. 274, 275.

all)

all) specified by Herodotus were worshipped by the Greeks, and by them were considered as human personages. Now, inasmuch as Herodotus, we may well suppose, calls the gods of Scythia by the names of the correspondent deities of Greece; if the latter were deified men and women, the former must be so likewise. This general reason will be confirmed by a distinct examination of each particular deity. The Scythians challenged *Jupiter* as the *progenitor of their king*, and *Vesta*, their principal deity, for *their queen**: a plain proof that they considered them as having reigned over them upon earth. *Gee* being the wife of *Jupiter*, was certainly conceived to be of the same nature with him; and seems to answer to the *Herthum* of the Germans, the *Cybele* of the Phrygians, and the goddess *Gee* spoken of by *Sanchoniathon*, who will be severally considered in

* *Indathyrfus*, king of Scythia, says, Δεσποτας δε εμης, Δια τε εγω νομιζω τον εμον προγονον, και Ισιν την Σκυθεν βασιλειαν, μινε; εναι. Herodot. l. 4. c. 127.

the sequel^y. It will likewise be shewn that the *celestial Venus* of the eastern nations was a native of earth: such therefore must have been *Apollo*^z, who is joined with her. With both these the historian joins Hercules and Mars; which shews they could not be gods of different orders. That *Mars* at least was worshipped by the Scythians under a human character, appears from their dedicating to him *images*^a as well as altars and temples. And as to *Neptune*, it will not be disputed that he was no other than a deified man. He will be spoken of in the sequel. I add, that Lucian^b, who had full

^y Herthum in article V. of this section; Cybele in the second section, under article III. and Gee in the second chapter, article *Phenicians*.

^z Though Apollo, physically explained, was the sun, yet historically understood he was a distinct deity, as is shewn in Schedius, *De Diis German.* p. 94.

^a *Αγαλματα δε και βωμους και νηους, κ. τ. λ.* Herodot. I. 4. c. 59. See what is said below concerning the Mars of the Goths and other northern nations under article IV. and concerning Hercules under article V. in this section,

^b *Scythia seu Hospes*, *Oper.* v. 1. p. 591, 592, et seq. ed.

full information concerning the Scythians, expressly testifies, that they raised Zamolxis, their ancient legislator, and other illustrious men into the rank of gods.

II. “ The *Massagetes*, their neighbours,” says Mr. Fell^c, in agreement with Dr. Blackwell, “ adored no gods but the “ sun.” The *Massagetes* were savages upon the borders of the Caspian sea^d; and there is no more reference to their gods in the Dissertation, than to those of the inhabitants of Otaheite. I cannot however help making the following observations.

Herodotus^e, who is the only author referred to by Dr. Blackwell, and after him by Mr. Fell, in proof of their assertion, spoke from report only. And it is generally allowed, that this historian, however faithful he may be in re-

ed. Amstel. 1687. See also v. 2. p. 713. et Tertullian, de Anima, c. 2.

^c P. 8, 9. Compare Blackwell's Myth. p. 275.

^d Herodot. lib. 1. c. 201, 204.

^e Lib. 1. c. 216.

lating

lating facts which came within his own knowledge, gave too easy credit to what was reported to him by others : which renders his testimony doubtful in the case before us. Besides, the Massagetes might be said to worship only the sun, in contradistinction to the other celestial luminaries, and not to mortal gods. Or the historian might only mean, that the sun was *eminently* the object of their devotion ; in which sense, as we shall see, similar language was used concerning the Persians. It is remarkable, that we find the Massagetes swearing by the sun under the character of *their sovereign*^f. It was an opinion propagated in the rude ages of the world, that the souls of eminent persons became celestial luminaries. And these Barbarians might be led to believe, that the sun was the soul of the first founder and sovereign of their nation ; or, at least, that it was inhabited by some beneficent patron who was ap-

^f Ἡλίου επομνυμι τοις τοις Μασσαγετῶν δισποτῆν. Herodot.
l. i. c. 212.

pointed to rule in it for their peculiar benefit. That they did not in any view whatever worship human spirits, will scarce appear credible to those who consider, that the Massagetes were a part of the Celtes^c, amongst whom this worship prevailed. If they were a tribe of Scythians, as some affirmed^b, their patron-deity was Zamolxis. But these circumstances are urged rather as conjectures, than as decisive proofs; and it may be doubted, whether the people, of whom we are speaking, were worshippers of dead men.

Hitherto we have seen Mr. Fell copying Dr. Blackwell; but, under the next article, he appears to me under the character of a writer truly original.

III. "The Getes," says Mr. Fellⁱ, "esteemed the heavens to be the only deity." In support of this assertion, he makes a general reference to the Clio

^c See below, Sect. II.

^b Herodot. l. i. c. 201.

ⁱ P. 9.

of Herodotus, but without informing his readers in what particular chapter, or in what page, of that book he found it; though this, surely, would have been as easy as to direct his readers to the very line^k in Hesiod in which his citations from him may be found.

I have lately read over the whole history of Herodotus; and think I can affirm, with certainty, that there *is* no such passage, in any part of this historian, as that which Mr. Fell quotes as his. That there *can* be no such passage in him as that in question, is capable of very clear proof. The Getes were a part of the Thracians^l. Now, the latter, as will be shewn in the sequel, did certainly worship Zamolxis; and therefore very probably the former did so too. But, what is more material, and indeed quite decisive, it appears from Herodotus himself, to whom Mr. Fell appeals,

^k Fell, p. 1, 2, 3, notes ^a, ^b, ^c, ^d, ^e, ^f.

^l Herodot. 1. 4, c. 93.

that

that the Getes propitiated ^m the god Zamolxis; and, in time of thunder and lightning, *threatened this deity, believing there was no other god but theirs* ⁿ.

Many other Greek writers, of the first reputation, contradict Mr. Fell's assertion, that the Getes esteemed the heavens to be the only deity. When Plato introduces a Thracian asserting the divinity ^o of their king Zamolxis, he is supposed to refer to the Getes, as well as to the other inhabitants of Thrace. Strabo ^p, in more places than one, speaks of Zamolxis the Pythagorean as a deity, and one acknowledged as such by the Getes. Lucian ^q makes mention of him

^m Τοῖσι δὲ ἰλεως ὁ θεὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι. Herodot. l. 4. c. 94.

ⁿ Ἀπειλεῖσι τῷ θεῷ, εἰδὲνα ἄλλου θεοῦ νομιζόντες εἶναι εἰ μὴ τοῦ σφετερον. Id. ib.

^o Ζαμολξίς λεγεί, ὁ ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς, θεὸς ὢν. Platon. Charmid. p. 157, tom. 2. ed. H. Stephan. — p. 276, ed. Ficini.

^p Ζαμολξίς — παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Γεταῖς ὠνομαζέτο θεός. L. 7. c. 457. See also p. 466, 1106, ed. Amstel.

^q Deor. Concil. Oper. tom. 2. p. 713. ed. Amstel. See below, near the end of the next section, where the Thracians are spoken of.

as having risen from the condition of a slave to divine honours. Diogenes Laertius expressly refers to the history of Herodotus when he says, that Pythagoras had a slave named Zamolxis, *to whom the Getes sacrifice*^r. And Jamblichus, in his life of Pythagoras, affirms, that the Getes regarded Zamolxis as *the greatest of the gods*^s.

I do not know that these testimonies are contradicted by a single person, whether ancient or modern, Mr. Fell alone excepted. But, notwithstanding several unfavourable appearances, and the liberties he takes on other occasions^t, he may be able to clear himself from all suspicion of having had recourse to invention, in order to supply his want of testimonies. As that is a matter that must be left to himself, I

^r Και δαλον Ζαμολξιν, ω Γεται θυησι, Κρονον νομιζοντες, ως φησιν Ηροδοτος. Diogen. Laert. Vit. Pythagor. l. 8. segm. 2.

^s Μεγιστος των θεων εστι παρ' αυτοις. Jamblich. c. 30.

^t See above, p. 11-17.

shall only observe, that, had he had any knowledge of the sentiments of Herodotus, and the other Greek writers, concerning the gods of the Getes, prudence, at least, would have restrained him from asserting a fact, that was contradicted by all antiquity, and even by that very historian to whom he appealed for it's support. Mr. Fell, after speaking of the Getes, adds,

IV. " The same objects of religious
" worship passed from the ancient Scy-
" thians to the *Goths*"^u.

With respect to these people, our author has given us no authority but his own; the weight of which we need not now examine. Had he not been as entirely unacquainted with the Goths as with the Getes, he would have known there was as little reason to rank the former, as (I have shewn there was) the latter, amongst the nations which worshipped only the natural gods. A few extracts from *Olaus Magnus*^w (him-

^u Fell, p. 9.

^w I refer to his *Historia de Gentibus septentrionalibus*, published at Rome, 1555.

self a Goth, and archbishop of Upsal) will serve to prove, that the inhabitants of the northern countries in general, while they continued Heathens, worshipped dead men.

From this writer we learn, that many of these nations burnt their kings and princes, after their death, that they might become gods, or be ranked amongst the gods^x. He farther informs us, that the three *greater* gods of the Goths were *Thor*, *Friga*, and *Odben*^y. The last of these, *Odben*, was certainly of human extract; for Olaus says of him, that, while living, he was acknowledged as a god by *all Europe*, on account of his superiority in the art of war; which, it was thought, gave rise to the opinion of the Goths, that Mars, whom antiquity considered as the god of

^x Reges ac principes suos fati exutos, ut vel dii fierent, vel inter deos eveherentur, combusserunt. Lib. 3, c. 1, p. 97.

^y Vide c. 3, de tribus diis majoribus Gothorum.

war, was born amongst them^z. This god was appeased by the Goths with the blood of their captive enemies^a. As to *Thor*, the *most mighty*, the president of the air, where he thunders^b, he seems to answer to the Roman Jupiter^c; and was

^z In page 100, he says, concerning Odhen, *Quia vivus tota Europa divinitatis titulum, quod nulli in arte militari cederet, affecutus fuisset; hinc evenisse creditur, ut Gothi — Martem, quem deum belli putavit antiquitas, apud se dicerent progenitum.*

^a Jornandes (de rebus Goticis, cap. 5.) affirms, that the Goths — Martem semper asperrima placavere cultura. Nam victimæ ejus mortes fuere captivorum. — This is confirmed by other writers.

^b Grotius (in his Proleg. Hist. Gott. et Vandal. p. 21.) says, Veteres Germani Deum cœli non alio nomine quam *Tborn* vocarunt, quod est *tonans* nunc etiam Danis. Michaelis (on the Influence of opinions on language, p. 19.) informs us, that, in some of the provinces of Germany, the peasants, when it thunders, say, *The good old man is passing along the air*. Did they not derive this language from their pagan ancestors, though they now apply it to God? I take notice of these circumstances in this place, because the Goths worshipped nearly the same gods as the Germans.

^c Thor, inquiunt, præsidet in aere; qui tonitrua, et fulmina, ventos, imbresque, serena, et fruges, gubernat. — Thor cum sceptro Jovem exprimere videtur. M. Adamus Bremenensis de Sueonibus. *Vossius de Idolat.* l. I. c. 35. p. 134.

considered

considered as having once been a mortal man : for Olaus speaks of some who were thought to be the sons of Thor or Odhen. The description given of *Frigga* agrees with that of Venus ; but what reason can be assigned, why a woman might not as well be considered as the goddess of love, as a man be regarded as the god of war ?

With respect to the *lesser* deities of the Goths and all the northern provinces, *Methotin*, *Froe*, *Rosthicphus Finnonicus*, they are represented by Olaus as men who had been eminent in their time, but afterwards became gods, or companions of the gods^d, and were honoured with religious worship^e. It is needless to observe, that many others were thought worthy of divine honours. But I must not omit to take notice, that there was a very magnificent temple of the northern gods near the river Sala, where Upsal

^d Eosque deos, vel deorum complices, autumantes. Olaus, c. 4. p. 101.

^e Id. ubi supra, et c. 7. p. 106.

now stands, famous even from the time of Ninus^f. These extracts from Olaus (which are in a great measure confirmed by the learned authors^g of the Ancient Universal History) serve to shew what gods were really worshipped by the Goths, as well as to detect the falsehood of the account given of them by Mr. Fell. With the Goths the gentleman joins

V. *The barbarous Germans*^h.

If the barbarous Germans had, as our author's language^h implies, the same objects of religious worship with the ancient Scythians and Goths, the former

^f Olaus, c. 6. p. 104.

^g "The religion of the Goths seems to have been the same with that of the ancient inhabitants of Scandinavia and Saxony," — "whose chief gods were the sun, the moon, the celebrated Woden, his son Thor, (who presides over the air,) his wife Frigga or Fræa, Tuisto, Theutates, Hesus, Tharamis," &c. Ancient Univ. Hist. v. 19, p. 265, 177. 8vo. ed. 1748.

^h "The same objects of religious worship passed from the ancient Scythians to the Goths and barbarous Germans." Fell, p. 9.

must

must have been worshippers of dead men; because we have shewn that such were both the latter. And, on the other hand, if it can be proved that the Germans deified their heroes, this will confirm what has been advanced concerning the gods of the Goths and Scythians. Indeed, if it can be proved, concerning any one of these three nations, that human spirits were worshipped in it, the same must be true concerning the other two, provided they had all the same objects of religious worship.

I allow, that, according to Cæsar, as he is commonly understood, the Germans owned no other gods but the sun, Vulcan, and the moon¹. But Cæsar, though well acquainted with the Gauls, whom he subdued after a ten years' war, had very little knowledge of the Germans; nor has he mentioned their religion but

¹ Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, et quorum opibus aperte juvantur, Solem, et Vulcanum, et Lunam: reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt. Cæsar, de Bell. Gall. l. 6, c. 20.

in the most transient manner. And he might imagine, as many others have done, that the Germans did not worship the spirits of deceased men, because (as we learn from Tacitus) they thought it unbecoming the majesty of the gods to be confined within temples, or represented under human forms^k. The inference, however, is not just: for, if we believe, upon the authority of Tacitus, that the Germans had neither temples, nor images in human form; we must, upon the same authority, believe, that they worshipped the spirits of deceased men; as will be soon shewn. Similar instances will occur in the sequel.

The first accounts, given of the religion of foreign countries, are often imperfect and erroneous; but these accounts are generally corrected by farther enquiries, and a more improved acquaintance with the languages and cus-

^k Nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimulare, ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur. Tacitus, de Mor. German. c. 9.

toms of the people. How often were we told, that the honours, paid by the Chinese to Confucius and their ancestors, were of a *civil*, rather than of a *religious*, nature? Nevertheless it appeared, after the strictest examination into the matter, that the worship paid to the souls of their ancestors is idolatrous; and that the ceremonies used in honour of Confucius are the very same with those performed in the worship of the celestial and terrestrial spirits of the Chinese¹.

Thus (I apprehend) it is in the case before us: the defective^m and (perhaps) erroneous view of the German gods, ex-

¹ See Mosheim's Ecclesiastical Hist. v. 2. p. 298-300. qto. and his Memoirs of the Christian Church in China.

^m Cæsar has omitted *Jupiter*, who nevertheless was worshipped by the Germans, under the German-Celtic denomination of *Thor*, *Thur*, or *Thunder*. See the Rev. and learned Mr. Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, v. 2. p. 359. The name was originally *Thoran*, *Thorn*; but the *n* was omitted in the pronunciation. Id. ib. He was the Tharamis, or Taranis, who will be spoken of under the article, *Gauls*. He was certainly a Celtic deity,

hibited by Cæsar, is supplied or corrected by the fuller information of Tacitus, who had thoroughly studied their religion, and has given a very particular account of the objects of their worship; both of those common to several nations of Germany, and those peculiar to each of them. According to this very accurate writer, the Germans worshipped the souls of dead men, and Hercules in particular, whom, when they went to battle, they extolled in their songs above all other heroesⁿ; and they *appeased him and Mars with the animals usually allowed for sacrifice*^o. From the manner in which Mars is joined with Hercules, there can be no ground to doubt, but that the former was of no higher an original than the latter. It is just the same thing as if the historian had said, though both had been men, both were raised to the

ⁿ Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in prælia canunt. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 2.

^o Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. Id. c. 9. Concerning Hercules, see c. 34.

rank of gods, and worshipped with the same rites. And indeed who could the Mars of the Germans be, but the same valiant hero and god of war who was worshipped over *all Europe*^p?

Several of the other German deities, mentioned by Tacitus, were also of human extract. Such were (to say nothing of Mercury^q) *Tuisto*, a god sprung from the earth, (that is, the first man^r, as they accounted him,) and his son, *Mannus*; the persons from whom they were descended,

^p Above, p. 36, note ^z.

^q Mercury will be spoken of when we come to consider the case of the Gauls.

^r According to Tacitus, (Mor. Germ. c. 2.) the Germans were the original natives of their country, and neither derived from, nor mixed with, other people. They must therefore have considered *Tuisto* as the first man. Erechtheus, an ancient king of Athens, to whom a temple was dedicated, was also said to be born of the earth, (Herodot. l. 8. c. 55.) and many others. Almost every nation pretended to be of equal duration with the earth itself. See Potter's Antiq. b. 1. c. 1. Compare Dr. Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, b. 1. §. 5.

and

and the founders of the nation'. To these we may probably add *Hertum*, that is, mother-earth, or the goddess that presided over it, who was worshipped by several people of Germany. She is described as a goddess who visits countries, and is sometimes drawn about in a chariot, and afterwards washed and purified, together with her holy vehicle, in a secret lake'. As to Isis, Castor and Pollux, Velleda, and many more^a, it is impossible to doubt of their being of human origin.

Nor is there any just reason to conclude, that the Germans introduced a new species of worship in the interval of time between Cæsar and Tacitus. For the latter tells us, that their deifying Villeda and other women, in whom a spirit of divination was thought to dwell, was a-

^a Celebrant Tuistonem deum, terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis, conditoresque. Tacit. Mor. Germ. c. 2. — Communis opinio et fama est, *homines terra prognatos*, &c. Polyhistor & Abydenus, as cited by Schedius de Diis Germ. p. 278.

^r Id. c. 40.

^s C. 8, 9, 43.

greeable to *the ancient usage of the Germans*^w; not founded upon flattery, nor upon a notion that they could make deities by performing certain rites of consecration, (which, as he insinuates, was the case among the Romans,) but upon a real belief that such women participated a divine quality*.—The account given of the German gods by Tacitus is more authentic than Cæsar's, and has been so deemed by learned men^y. But after all, there is perhaps no contradiction between these illustrious writers. Cæsar was too well acquainted with the genius of paganism, to deny that the Germans worshipped the heroes of their

^w *Vetere* apud Germanos more, quo pleraque fœminarum fatidicas, et augefcente superstitione arbitrentur deas. Tacit. Hist. l. 4. c. 61. — See what the same author says concerning Velleda, de Mor. Germ. c. 8. In the same place he tells us, *Olim Auriniam et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec tanquam facerent deas.*

* *Inesse quinetiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant.* Id. ib.

^y See Tacit. Mor. Germ. c. 9. ed. Gronov. tom. 2. p. 602.

own

own country. Nor does his language import such a denial. He is speaking only of the gods acknowledged by the Germans in general, of such of their gods as they held *in common* with the Romans and other nations. For, after saying that the Germans owned no other gods but the sun, Vulcan, and the moon, he adds, *of the rest they have not so much as heard*; that is, the rest of the gods generally worshipped in other countries. On this natural supposition, Cæsar had no view to the gods *peculiar* to the Germans in general, or to any particular tribes of that people. But it is on these that Tacitus has enlarged. If we put the accounts of both these writers together, the Germans, like the northern nations, had gods both natural and mortal^z. Let us proceed to consider,

^z See what is said above, p. 38, note *ε*, concerning the northern nations. Had Cæsar thought that the Germans worshipped only the natural gods, he would have used the word *fire*, instead of *Vulcan*.

VI. The case of the *Persians*, to which Dr. Blackwell^a appeals, and after him Mr. Fell^b.

The account given of the religion of the Persians by Herodotus is as follows:
“ They do not erect either statues, or
“ temples, or altars; and charge with
“ extreme folly those who do. What I
“ take to be their reason is, that they do
“ not believe, like the Greeks, that the
“ gods are *of the race of men*^c. They as-
“ cend the summits of the mountains
“ when they sacrifice to Jupiter, by
“ which name they call the whole circum-
“ ference of heaven. They sacrifice also
“ to the sun and moon, and to the earth,
“ and to fire, water, and winds: and to
“ these alone they sacrifice from the be-
“ ginning. But they have learnt from
“ the Assyrians and Arabians to sacrifice

^a Mythol. p. 272.

^b P. 7.

^c This meaning of the original word, *ανθρωποφους*, will be vindicated in the next chapter, when considering the gods of the *Greeks*.

“ also

“ also to Urania, or Venus, who by the
 “ Assyrians is called Mylitta, by the A-
 “ rabians Alitta, and by the Persians
 “ Mitra^d.

In justice to the great sagacity of Mr. Fell, I must take notice, that he is pleased to say^e, “ that I carefully omit the
 “ account which Herodotus has given
 “ concerning the Persian objects of wor-
 “ ship, because that is a flat contradic-
 “ tion to my repeated assertions.” The Persians being a barbarous^f nation in the

^d Αγαλματα μεν και νηες και βωμους εκ εν νομω ποιουμενους ιδρυεσθαι, αλλα και τοις ποιουσι μωρην επιφερεισι· ως μεν εμοι δοκειν, οτι εκ ανθρωποφειας ενομισαν τας θεας, καταπερ οι Ελληνες, ειναι. Οι δε νομιζουσι Διι μεν, επι τα υψηλοτατα των θρεων αναβαινοντες, θυσιας ερδειν, τον κυκλον παντα τα ουρανυ Δια καλεοντες· θυσι δε ηλιω τε και σεληνη, και γη και πυρι και υδατι και ανεμοισι· τητοιςι μεν δη μνηοισι θυσι αρχηθεν. Επιμεμαθηκασι δε και τη Ουρανη θυειν, παρα τε Ασσυριων μαδονιες και Αραβιων· καλεουσι δε Ασσυριοι την Αφροδιτην, Μυλιτιαν· Αραβιοι δε, Αλιτιαν· Περσαι δε, Μιτραν. Herodot. l. 1. c. 131.

^e P. 7.

^f Herodotus perpetually styles them *Barbarians*; and the account he gives of them shews that they deserved the title, for a better reason than their not being Grecians.

age of Herodotus, and there being no peculiar reference to their gods in Scripture^g, they could not be included in my proposition stated above^h; especially if it be true, that they had no demons, or subaltern deities, of any kind; which they could not have, if, as Mr. Fell contends, they worshipped only the natural gods. The account given of the gods of Persia by Herodotus has not even the appearance of being a contradiction to my assertions concerning those demons, who were the more immediate objects of public worship in other countries; and whom I affirmed to be human spirits: and consequently I could not be under any such temptation, as our author supposes, to omit that account. The fact is, that Iⁱ cited as much of Herodotus as belonged to the subject upon which I was speaking; and even that very part

^g The doctrine of the two principles alluded to by Isaiah was not peculiar to the Persians.

^h P. 4.

ⁱ Dissert. p. 186, 187.

of him which asserts, that the *Persians* did not believe that the gods are of the race of men ; which is the only circumstance on which the pretence of a contradiction could be founded. Without taking at present any farther notice of an author, who always loses sight of the proper point in dispute, and who does not seem to have attended to the wide difference there is between traducing an opponent and confuting him, I proceed to examine the Persian objects of worship, and the account given of them by Herodotus and other writers.

There is no subject on which learned men are more divided in their opinion than this ; and therefore I will consider it at large. Let us distinctly inquire, whether the ancient Persians were idolaters ; and, if they were, whether they worshipped any but the natural gods.

First let us inquire whether the ancient Persians were idolaters. If we can rely on the authorities produced by Dr. Hyde, in his very learned treatise on the religion

religion of the ancient Persians, it was at first derived from Abraham, afterwards reformed by Zoroaster, and consisted in the sole worship of the one true God. To this reformation Sir Isaac Newton^k refers, when he says, “ The
“ various religions of the several na-
“ tions of Persia, which consisted in
“ the worship of their ancient kings,
“ were abolished, and the worship of one
“ God, at altars, without temples, set
“ up in all Persia, in the reign of Da-
“ rius the son of Hystaspes, by the in-
“ fluence of Hystaspes and Zoroaster ;
“ but in a short time afterwards the
“ Persians worshipped the sun, and the
“ fire, and dead men, and images, as
“ the Egyptians, Phenicians, and Chal-
“ deans, had done before.” Now, according to this hypothesis, the Persians are to be considered as the worshippers of human spirits in all the early ages of the world, excepting the interval between

^k Short Chronicle, p. 40. Chronol. p. 352.

the reformation of their religion in the reign of Darius, and their subsequent relapse into idolatry; a period too short to be taken into account.

But it has long been suspected, by writers of the first reputation¹, that the Arabian and Persian authors, from whom Dr. Hyde draws his proofs, are too modern to discover to us the religion of the old Persians. And a gentleman well versed in oriental learning^m has more lately assured the world, “ that
 “ the genuine works of Zoroaster are
 “ lost; that the pretended fragments
 “ of them, which Dr. Hyde has given
 “ us under the title of *Sadder*, are the
 “ rhymes of a modern priest who lived
 “ about three centuries agoⁿ; that no
 “ books now exist in the ancient dialect
 “ of Persia^o; that the Arabian conquests
 “ proved a radical subversion of the Per-

¹ Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, b. iv. ch. 12. §. 13.

^m Richardson, in his Dissertation on the languages, literature, and manners, of the eastern nations, 2d ed.

ⁿ P. 12, 25, 26.

^o P. 13.

“fian religion^p as well as government ;
 “and that the principal historians of Per-
 “fia, now known in Europe, are all sub-
 “sequent to the Mohammedan æra”^q. I
 must add, that a gentleman, whose smal-
 lest praise it is to be the best linguist of the
 age, and whose studies were for some
 years directed to the improvement of east-
 ern literature^r, entertains the same opi-
 nion of the authorities upon which Dr.
 Hyde grounds his system as the ingenious
 writer last referred to.

As Dr. Hyde’s witnesses are very ex-
 ceptionable, so the facts they attest are
 highly improbable. The learned Dr.

^p P. 21, 22.

^q P. 42.

^r I need not say, that I here refer to W. Jones, Esq.
 This gentleman did me the honour to send me a letter,
 which he published in the French language, in the year
 1771, and which is now out of print ; wherein he shews
 that all the works ascribed to Zoroaster are spurious.
 As to the *Sadder*, he says, p. 28, Tous les étudians de
 la littérature orientale savaient déjà que les misérables
 poèmes appellés *Saddar* et *Ardi-viraf Nama* étaient écrits
 en langue Persanne moderne, et seulement en caractères
 anciens.

Prideaux*, though he follows our author in several particulars, yet, when speaking of Zoroaster's prophecies of Christ, says, " All this seems to be taken out of the *legendary* writings of the " eastern Christians." Many other things related by Dr. Hyde seem to be extracted from some writings equally legendary. Is it probable, that Abraham was sent by God to the Persians, to deliver to them a system of religion? Is it credible, that this religion, after it was corrupted, was restored by Zoroaster, and preserved in it's purity, for a succession of ages, by a barbarous people; though a long series of stupendous miracles could scarce prevent the fundamental principle of it from being lost among the descendants of the pious patriarch?

There is a farther objection against Dr. Hyde's account of the Persian religion, viz. it's being contradicted by the testimony of the Greek and Roman writers ;

* Connexion, v. 1. p. 329, 330. 8vo.

† Hyde, ch. 2. p. 28.

ters; many of whom visited Persia at the very time when that religion flourished, and who had certainly the best opportunities of information. This was the case as to Herodotus and Xenophon in particular. They were withal inquisitive and candid, and under no temptation to give a false account of the Persian objects of worship. Besides, as after the reign of Xerxes there was a greater intercourse between the Greeks and Persians than there had been before^u, they could not have delivered to their countrymen a false account of the Persian gods without being detected and exposed. I must add, that their account of them is much more probable in it's own nature, I mean much more agreeable to what we know with certainty concerning the other heathen nations, and those in particular with which the Persians were connected, than that given by Dr. Hyde upon the authority of late writers.

^u Plutarch. Vit. Themistocle^s, p. 126.

For the several foregoing reasons, I cannot but give the preference on this occasion to the testimony of the former, especially as it is in a great degree confirmed by the latter. The Greek and Roman writers tell us, that the Persians worshipped the sun^w. And is not this in a great measure admitted by those very authorities which are cited by Dr. Hyde to prove the contrary? It is said^w, indeed, that the worship paid to the sun in Persia was only of a *civil*, not of a *religious*, nature. But did the common people understand the precise difference between these two kinds of worship? Or would they honour with prostrations, salutations, and incense^x, what in their conception had no power to interpose for their benefit? The distinction between civil and religious worship is probably made in this case, as we know it is in others^y, merely to avoid

^w See Hyde, c. 4.

^x And with libations and sacrifices, according to the Greeks. Hyde, p. 120. ed. 1700.

^y By the Indians, (as will be shewn near the end of the 2d section,) and by the Chinese.

the odium of idolatry. The remains of the ancient Persians, in different parts of the east, are under peculiar temptations to represent their worship as consistent with the divine unity; because they live amongst the Mohammedans, who, though indulgent to all other religions, detest and persecute idolaters and the worshippers of fire^z. I see no ground to doubt, but that the ancient Persians (as well as others) did worship this element, and the sun as its chief receptacle; which seems to be intimated in the very plea some have made for them, viz. that they worship the sun only as the *habitation* of the Deity. This, however, is no better an excuse than what the ancient philosophers made for that grossest species of idolatry, the paying religious honours to brute animals. It is evident that, in

^z Les Mahométans, tolérans pour toutes les autres religions, sont intolérans pour les idolâtres et les adorateurs du feu; et, si quelques familles de ces malheureux trouvèrent le moyen de se retirer dans l'Inde, ils ne purent conserver que quelques traditions imparfaites au sujet de leurs anciennes loix. Jones's Letter, p. 46.

both cases alike, the worship would terminate in its more immediate objects.

Hence many Christians chose to suffer the most extreme punishment rather than join with the Persians in their adoration of the sun^a. And if others, after having embraced the Gospel, continued to practise some of those rites, in honour of this celestial luminary^b, to which they had been long accustomed, this might proceed from their desire of avoiding persecution, or from the strength and inveteracy of their former prejudices. Like causes produced similar effects upon the first Christian converts; some of whom were not easily got off from their superstitious reverence for idols^c; and others observed the law of Moses, either to avoid the displeasure of the unbelieving Jews, or from a per-

^a Saporis jussu Simeon cum multis aliis, quod solem adorare recusassent, ultimo supplicio adfecti. Sozom. II. 8, 9, 12. Hyde, p. 110.

^b See Hyde, p. 109.

^c 1 Cor. viii. 7.

suasion of it's obligation. Here, in Britain, a learned antiquary^d informs us, that, after Christianity took place, many continued to worship consecrated stones, their former idols. Nay, the fondness for human victims remained for a considerable time amongst some who had embraced the faith of Christ^e.

Having assigned the reasons which induce me to think that the ancient Persians were idolaters, I proceed to examine, in the second place, whether they worshipped only the natural gods. Herodotus, in the foregoing extract^f from him, has been thought to affirm that they had no other gods but these. It may, however, be worth while to inquire, whether, notwithstanding what is advanced by this historian, the Persians *might* not worship human spirits al-

^d Borlase, *Ant. of Cornwall*, p. 162.

^e Francos, etsi Christum jam colerent, humanis tamen ad suum ævum hostiis usos. Procopius, l. 2. de Bell. Goth. Lipsii not. in Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 9. Borlase, p. 154.

^f P. 47.

so; and whether there be any evidence that they *did* worship them. I will endeavour to shew,

I. That the Persians *might* worship human spirits, notwithstanding what is contained in the foregoing extract from Herodotus. It was not the design of this historian to give a full account of the religion of the Persians, but principally to point out some remarkable particulars in which it differed from that of Greece. When he speaks of their *rites of worship*^s, he scarce touches on any but the most singular of them: and so far is he from enumerating all their *gods*, that he has made no mention of Arimanius, who was certainly worshipped by Xerxes^h. The Persians therefore might have both many rites, and many objects, of worship, which it did not fall within the design of Herodotus to mention in the comparative view which he has here given of their religion.

^s L. i. c. 132.

^h Plutarch. Vit. Themistoc. p. 126. A.

He begins with taking notice of a very striking difference between the religions of the Persians and the Greeks ; the former, contrary to the principles and practice of the latter, having no statues, temples, or altars, and condemning those who had.

In order to account for this difference, he says, *he apprehended* the reason of it to be, that the Persians did not believe, as the Greeks did, that the gods were of human descent. This he mentions only as his own private opinion, and with some degree of hesitation ; knowing, it may be presumed, that the Germans^h and others had neither temples nor statues, though they worshipped human spirits. But it is more to our present purpose to observe, that the gods of Greece, here spoken of, are not the heroes and demonsⁱ of that country, but

^h Above, p. 40.

ⁱ See above, p. 5, note ^k. *Heroes* and *demons* are sometimes distinguished from *gods*, even when the latter, no less than the former, were supposed to have been men.

men to whom the title of *gods* belonged eminently and by way of distinction ; to whom temples, as well as statues and altars, were erected, and who were the objects of the highest worship. The gods of Persia, therefore, here contrasted with them, must be the principal gods of that country. Now, it was a distinction that well deserved to be mentioned, that the chief objects of worship in one country were not believed, as they were in the other, to be of the human race : but it will not follow from hence, that the Persians paid no religious honours to heroes, to whom there is no reference in this place.

The historian proceeds to inform us, that they sacrificed to Jupiter upon the top of mountains ; and then enumerates their other natural gods. The Greeks acknowledged the same natural gods as the Persians did ; that is, the elements and heavenly bodies. But, *to these alone*, the historian adds, *they* (the Persians) *sacrifice from the beginning*. In this

this manner the original words are commonly understood ; and, if this be their true sense, they point out a farther distinction between the religion of Greece and Persia. Many of the heathen philosophers taught, that the deified parts and powers of nature were represented under the form of men and women^k ; or that the latter were symbols of the former. According to this account, the great gods of Greece, to whom Herodotus here refers, were both human personages and symbolical representations of the natural gods. It was under the former view however that they were considered by the people, and were the objects of the public sacrifices^k. The victims were offered immediately, not to heaven or the æther, for example, but to Jupiter ; who, though often put for heaven or the æther, was a distinct deity from it^l. But, in Persia, the public sacrifices, according to our historian *, were offered imme-

^k See below, p. 412 et seq.

diately

^l Aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Jovem. Quasi vero quisquam nostrum istum, potius quam Capitolinum, Jovem appellet. Id. 1. 3. c. 4.

* Though I argue all along upon the supposition of the truth of his account of the great gods of Persia ;

yet

diately to Jupiter, under the single idea of his being *the whole circumference of heaven*. Now, though the Persians sacrificed to the natural gods *alone*; that is, under their own proper characters, or exclusively of all those human symbols which intercepted the public devotion of Greece; yet, besides these natural gods, they might also worship human spirits; just as the Greeks had demons and heroes, besides those great gods which were supposed by some to be symbols of the natural. There were many Jupiters; and the Persians, besides him whom they called *the circumference of heaven*, might have, one or more, others whom they worshipped. Supposing this to be the case, the historian would not have taken notice of it here, because it was a circumstance that was not peculiar to yet it could scarce be built upon any certain information from the *magi*, who were far from being less solicitous than other pagan priests to conceal the nature and origin of the great gods. It might be no more than an inference unjustly drawn from the Persians not worshipping them with statues and temples. Compare the case of the Germans, (above, p. 40.) who, like the Persians, were a Celtic nation. Probably the religion of both was the same.

the

the Persians, but common both to them and the Greeks.

But it deserves to be considered, whether the common translation of the last-cited passage from Herodotus does truly express the sense of the original, which may very well be rendered, “ To these
“ *principally*^m they sacrifice from the be-
“ ginning.” Now, they might certainly have other gods besides those to whom they *principally* sacrificed. Some think that Herodotus only meant to say, that “ the Persians *originally* sacrificed

^m ΤΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ΜΕΝΟΥΣΙ. The word *μενος* is often used as equivalent to *chief* or *principal*. Examples may be found in Horapollinis Hieroglyph. l. i. c. 12. and De Pauw's notes, p. 295. Justin says, l. i. c. 10. Solem Persæ unum deum esse credunt. But Freinshemius (in his note on Quintus Curtius, l. iii. c. 3. p. 75. tom. I. ed. Snakenburg) conjectures, that, by *unum deum*, we are not to understand *solum atque unicum*, sed *potius unum ex diis*. According to Hesychius, Mithras, or, as he explains it, the sun, was ο πρῶτος θεός, the supreme god of the Persians. Herodotus is certainly the best expositor of himself: now, he seems to use *μενος* for *chief* or *principal*, l. v. c. 7. which will be cited when we come to speak of the Thracians.

“ to these gods alone.” According to every fair construction of Herodotus, the Persians *might* worship human spirits.

II. I proceed to shew, that they *did* worship them. And, if Herodotus himself has furnished evidence of this point, it will overturn the common explication of the foregoing extract from him.

I. I shall begin with observing, that the Persians deified their kings in their mortal state upon earth. We are told, by Herodotus, that they *adored*ⁿ their king, and attempted to compel some Grecians to do the same°. They put their kings upon the same level with their gods. Artabanus, the Persian, thus addresses Themistocles: We have many excellent laws, but none comparable to that which requires us *to worship the king as the image of the God who preserves all things*^p. And Cleo commends

ⁿ L. 3. c. 86.

^o L. 7. c. 136.

^p Προσκυνεῖν εἰκόνα θεῶν, τὴν τὰ πάντα σωζούσης. Plut. Vit. Themist. p. 125. See the next note.

the custom of the Persians in deifying their kings, as being both pious and prudent¹. To their images² adoration was demanded, and also to their favourites; for Mordecai assigns this reason for refusing to pay the same honours to Haman which others did, *That he would not worship any but God*³. The custom of deifying kings was of great antiquity, and obtained in Æthiopia⁴, Italy⁵, and many other countries, as well as in Persia.

Now, if the Persians paid religious honours to their kings in their state of mortality upon earth, would they not continue to pay those honours to

¹ Persas quidem non pie solum, sed etiam prudenter, reges suos inter deos colere. Cleo, ap. Q. Curt. l. 8. c. 5. p. 595. ed. Snak. Briffonius, here cited, says: Quin in hanc usque diem Persarum rex pro deo colitur a suis, appellaturque dominus, *qui cælum ac fulciat sustineatque*. Which illustrates the language of Artabanus, in note P.

² See Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. 1. c. 27. p. 35. ed. Olear.

³ Apocrypha, Esther xiii. 14.

⁴ Strabo, l. 17. p. 1177, A.

⁵ At Rome, Horat. l. 2. ep. 1. v. 25.

them after their supposed advancement to celestial power and dignity? In other countries it was customary for those, who deified their kings while living, to worship them after their death. Why should it be thought that Persia, so remarkably distinguished by a veneration for her monarchs, was an exception to this general rule?

2. There are direct proofs of the Persians having mortal gods. Herodotus, immediately after he had enumerated their natural divinities, adds, *But they have learnt from the Assyrians and Arabians to sacrifice also to Urania, or Venus.* By this goddess we are not to understand the moon, as some have supposed^w, because distinct mention had been before made of that planet. Strabo^x likewise distinguishes the goddess Venus from the moon. Nor did Herodotus by Urania mean the planet Venus; because the former is distinguished from the natural

^w Letters concerning Mythol. p. 273.

^x Τιμωσι, Σελήνην καὶ Ἀφροδίτην. P. 1064.

gods of the Persians, and her worship is mentioned as an exception to their general practice. Herodotus probably refers to the *president* of the planet Venus, or of the moon. In this view, the worship of Venus, as one of their chief deities, was a just exception to their rule of sacrificing to the celestial luminaries apart, or by themselves; for in this instance they paid distinct worship to the president of a celestial luminary. That the female deity, of whom we are speaking, was worshipped by the vulgar under a human character, I see no ground to doubt^r. Most probably she was the Sy-

F 3

rian

^r There were four Venuses, according to Cicero, (Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 23.) and the philosophers allegorized their history; (see Apuleius, Metamorphos. l. xi. p. 357, 358.) as they did that of other heathen deities. But the language of Cotta, when exposing those allegorical explications, plainly supposes, that the public *opinion* concerning the deities, whose history was converted into allegory, was, that they were deified mortals. — Dicamus igitur, Balbe, oportet contra illos etiam, qui hos deos, ex hominum genere in cœlum translatos, non re, sed *opinione*, esse dicunt, quos auguste omnes

rian Astarte^z, to whom the planet Venus was consecrated, and of whom there will be occasion to speak hereafter^a. In Armenia, Venus was worshipped under the name of *Anaitis*^b, and represented by an image of human form^c; which shews what ideas were formed of her in the east. Here, then, is an instance of the

omnes sancteque veneramur. Ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 21. Amongst other deities, the four Venuses are specified, c. 23. And he concludes with observing, that the notions entertained of these divinities arose from old stories spread in Greece, which, for the credit of religion, ought to be discouraged, but which the Stoics rather confirmed, than refuted, by their manner of explaining them. — Atque hæc quidem ejusmodi ex vetere Græciæ fama collecta sunt: quibus intelligis resistendum esse, ne perturbentur religiones. Vestri autem non modo hæc non refellunt, verum etiam confirmant, interpretando quorsum quidque pertineat, Ibid,

^z Quarta, (scil. Venus,) Syria, Tyroque concepta, quæ Astarte vocatur. Id. ib.

^a Under the article, *Phœnicians*, in the 2d ch.

^b Strabo introduces the mention of this fact, by saying, Ἀπαντα μὲν οὐν τὰ τῶν Περσῶν τετὰ καὶ Μηδοῖ καὶ Ἀρμενίῳ τετιμῆκασιν. L. xi. p. 805,

^c Clemens Alexandr. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 57. ed, Potteri, with the notes of the learned editor.

worship

worship of a human personage in Persia, who seems to have been raised to the same rank with the natural gods.

Amanus and Anandratus were demons of Persia^d, of human origin^e, who were worshipped not only in their own country, but also in Cappadocia, where there were many temples of the Persian gods*. We are told by Strabo, in most express terms, that the Persians *celebrated the exploits of their gods and illustrious men*^f. These testimonies are confirmed by, and serve to confirm, the description which Quintus Curtius has given of the chariot of Darius. It was

^d Το της Αναιτιδος, και το των συμβωμων θεων, ιερον ιδρυσαντο, Αμανυ και Ανανδρατε, Περσικων δαιμονων. Strabo, l. xi. p. 779. See also l. xv. p. 1065, 1066.

^e Alexander ab Alexandro, tom. 2. p. 446. after speaking of Amanus and Anandratus, and other heathen gods, adds, — Qui omnes ex hominibus post funera divinitate donati, diique indigites post consecrationem habiti sunt.

* Πολλα δε και των Περσικων θεων ιερα. Strabo, p. 1065. See p. 1066.

^f Εργα θεων τε, και ανδρων των αριτων, αναδιδοντες. Strabo, l. 15. p. 1066.

adorned with the images of the gods in silver and gold; and upon the axle-tree were two images of gold, — the one representing Ninus, the other Belus^g. This Belus is supposed to be the Nimrod of the Bible, whom the Persians ranked amongst the gods; and, believing him to be translated into the stars, called him Orion^h. We may proceed farther, and observe,

3. That the Persians worshipped the gods of other nations that were of mortal origin. According to Herodotus, when Xerxes arrived with his army on the banks of the Scamander, *he sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Ilian Minerva, and the*

^g Utrumque currus latus deorum simulacra ex auro argentoque expressa decorabant: — Jugum, ex quo eminebant duo aurea simulacra cubitalia, quorum alterum Nini, alterum Beli, gerebat effigiem. Q. Curt. l. 3. c. 3. p. 77. ed. Snaken. — Freinshemius observes, Per Ninum Assyriæ, per Belum Babylonæ, imperium conjunctum innuebant currus Darii artifices.

^h — Τον Νεβρωδ γιγαντα τον την Βαβυλωνιαν κτισαντα, ον λεγουσιν οι Περσαι αποδεωθεντα και γενομενον εν τοις αστροις ουρανου, ονινα καλουσιν Ωριωνα. Chronicon Alexandrinum, p. 84.

magi

*magi poured out libations to the heroes*ⁱ. The same Persian monarch shewed a religious reverence for the temple of Athamas^k. Xenophon testifies, that Cyrus implored the assistance of the heroes, the guardians of Media; and that he propitiated the gods and guardian heroes of Assyria^l, and other countries^m. These facts confirm the testimonies that have been produced to shew, that they acknowledged mortal gods. They likewise serve to demonstrate, that, when the Persians under Xerxesⁿ burnt the temples and images of the Grecian gods and heroes, this did not proceed from a contempt of those gods and heroes, but from their disapprobation of temples and images. In

ⁱ Τη Αθηναίη τη Ιλιάδι ἔδυσε βῆς χιλίας· χοαῖς δὲ οἱ μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχεαντο. Herodot. l. 7. c. 43.

^k Καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἐσεβέτο. Id. l. 7. c. 197.

^l Συμπαρεκαλεῖ δὲ καὶ ἥρωας γῆς Μηδίας οἰκητορας καὶ κηδημονας. — Γῆν ἱλασκετο χοαῖς, καὶ θεας θυσιαῖς, καὶ ἥρωας Ἀσσυρίας οἰκητορας εὐμενίζετο. Xenophon, de Instit. Cyri, l. 3. c. 3. §. 11.

^m Particularly of Media. Id. l. 8. c. 3. §. 11.

ⁿ Herodot. l. 8. c. 143.

confirmation of all that has been offered, we may observe,

4. That, notwithstanding a difference in some particulars, there was a general agreement between the religion of the Persians and that of the other idolatrous nations. This, exclusive of all testimony, is very probable in itself: for, the Persians being the same people with the Celtes^o, there could scarcely be an essential difference between them with respect to the leading principles of religion. They are represented by Herodotus^p as being prone to imitate the manners of foreigners, particularly the Greeks; and this disposition was likely to extend its influence beyond the affairs of civil life, and to make them conformists in religion. What is so probable in theory is confirmed by facts. The Persians, like other nations, worshipped the natural gods^q,

^o See Pelloutier's Hist. of the Celtes, v. 1. p. 19.

^p L. 1. c. 135.

^q See above, p. 47.

and

and rivers in particular*. Their having no covered temples, nor any images of the gods, were customs that were not peculiar to them, though they distinguished them from the Greeks; and hardly was any practice more common than to sacrifice upon the tops of mountains.

In many other respects we find a remarkable resemblance between the theology of the Persians and that of other nations. As the Greeks, the Egyptians, the Phenicians, the Chaldeans, and other ancient nations, had their theogonies, or accounts of *the generation* of the

* It has been thought inconsistent with the care the Persians took to preserve the purity of the elements, (see Strabo, p. 1066.) that, after sacrificing white horses to a river, they should throw their carcases into it: a circumstance related by Herodotus, l. 7. c. 113. and which some have used to disparage his testimony. But the carcases of these horses were perhaps embalmed: which some think Herodotus asserts, c. 114. Besides, the horses were consecrated to a religious purpose. It was unlawful to throw a carcase into the fire; but this did not extend to sacrifices. Hyde, p. 94. Fire and water were the principal objects of their worship, according to Strabo, l. 15. p. 1065.

gods,

gods, so likewise had the Persians'. Now the ancient theogonies, and the Grecian in particular, mix with the physical an historical relation of the genealogy of the gods, and record the births even of those they stile *always existing, and immortal*[†]; supposing them to be generated from pre-existent principles. This ill agrees with the supposition of the Persians worshipping one or more gods, under the character of underived and eternal beings.

According to Herodotus[‡], when Perseus, the son of Jupiter and Danae, was with Cepheus, the son of Belus, he married his daughter, Andromeda; and by her had a son, whom he named Perseus, from whom the Persians took their name. Now is not this agreeable

[†] At their sacrifices, one of the magi, standing up, *επαειδει θεογονιαν*, theogoniam accinit. Herodot. l. i. c. 132. Compare Diogenes Laertius, proœm. segm. 9. where it is said, upon the authority of Hecatæus, that, according to the magi, *the gods were begotten*.

[‡] Hesiod. Theogon. v. 106.

[§] L. 7. c. 61.

to the genealogy of the gods and heroes in other nations?

As the Persians worshipped the tutelary gods of other countries, so they had such deities of their own^w; agreeably to that principle, common to all the idolatrous nations, that each of them had it's peculiar guardian deity. And the guardian deities of kingdoms were supposed to

^w Xerxes thus addresses the Persians : *Νυν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι τοῖ Περσίδα γῆν λελογχάσι.* Herodot. l. 7. c. 53. To one or more of these tutelary deities they seem to have given the name of Jupiter : for, besides the Jupiter whom they conceived of as *the whole circumference of heaven*, Xenophon speaks of another who was a local deity, king and patron of Persia. *Κυρος ἐθνε Δι βασιλεῖ.* De Institut. Cyri, l. 3. c. 3. §. 11. *Δι πατρὶω ἐθνε.* Id. ib. Vide l. 8. c. 7. Probably for him it was that a chariot was provided, upon occasion of Xerxes's expedition against Greece. Herodot. l. 7. c. 40. The chariot was drawn by eight white horses : an honour peculiar to Jupiter amongst the Romans. By the Jupiter, spoken of by Xenophon, some suppose we are to understand Belus. Xerxes also seems to have been called Jupiter : for Themistocles told him, that he was directed by Jupiter of Dodona to go to a person of the same name with the god, *ὁμωνυμον τε θεῷ*, which he assigns as the reason of coming to Xerxes ; though Plutarch might only mean, that each was called *the great king*. Plutarch. Vit. Themistoclis, p. 126. A.

be

be the spirits of those illustrious men by whom they were founded or enlarged. This is a full proof of the Persians worshipping human spirits, as the Greeks and other nations did. At the same time it accounts for Mardonius's using *the Grecian rites of worship**.

As a farther proof of the great conformity between the theology of Persia and that of other idolatrous nations, it may be observed, that the Persians sacrificed to *Thetis* and the *Nereids*; and that the reason of their sacrificing to the former was their learning from the *Ionians*, that she was taken away by *Peleus* out of this country, and that all the coast of *Sepias* is dedicated to her and the rest of the *Nereids*†. Many learned men have supposed, that *Nereus* was a prince, and the *Nereids* princesses, who had improved navigation; and consequently that they were human personages: which is much confirmed by the rapture of *Thetis*,

* Ελληνικοῖσι ἱεροῖσι ἐχρέετο. Herodot. l. 9. c. 36.

† Herodot. l. 7. c. 191.

one of the Nereids. The worship, therefore, paid to these deities by the Persians, is not only a proof of the great conformity between their theology and that of the Grecians, but is also a new instance, furnished by Herodotus himself, of the Persians sacrificing to human spirits.

Too nearly did the Persians conform to the other idolatrous nations in the most barbarous acts of worship. During a tempest the magi offered up human victims^z, as well as endeavoured to charm the winds by magical enchantments. We are told, by Plutarch, that Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, buried twelve people alive to Pluto on her own

^z Herodot. l. 7. c. 191. I have followed Wesseling's translation of the original words, *εὐτομα τε ποιούντες*. The phrase does not necessarily import the species of the sacrifice spoken of; but it is applied to human victims by Herodotus, l. 2. c. 119. and is so understood here by H. Stephens, tom. III. p. 1401. as well as by Wesseling. See the note of the latter on Herodot. l. 2. c. 119. Every one will recollect that line of Virgil, *Æn.* II. 116.

Sanguine placasti ventos, et virgine cæsa.

account.

account^a. And from Herodotus we learn, that she caused fourteen children of the best families in Persia to be interred alive, as a gratification to the god said to be beneath the earth^b. The same historian informs us, that, when the army of Xerxes came to a place called the *Nine Ways*, the magi took nine of the sons and daughters of the inhabitants, and buried them alive, *as the manner of the Persians is*^b. It has been suggested, but without any good reason, that Plutarch and Herodotus have reproached them unjustly with offering human sacrifices. But such sacrifices were common amongst the ancients, and fixed no peculiar stigma on the Persians^c. As to the custom of burying

^a De Superstit. p. 171, D. *Αμνηστει δὲ, ἡ Ξεξὸς γυνή, δωδεκα καταρῶξεν ἀνδρωπῶες ζῶντας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῷ Ἀδῇ.* In his *Isis & Osir.* p. 369, E. he says, the Persians invoked Pluto.

^b Herod. l. 7. c. 114. Comp. l. 3. c. 35.

^c In confirmation of the authorities produced above, to shew that the Persians were chargeable with offering human sacrifices, I would observe, that, when the Grecians

rying human victims alive, it obtained amongst the Romans^d. The facts, therefore, last stated, like many mentioned before, concerning the Persians, are direct proofs, not only of a general correspondence between their religion and that of other nations, but also of their worshipping dead men : for amongst this number Pluto^e must be reckoned.

The same conclusion may be drawn from their necromancy^f, or divination by consulting the dead. This superstition, which is supposed to have had its

cians adopted the Worship of Mithras, they offered him human victims. Photius, in Vita Athanasii, p. 1446. Hyde, p. 112.

^d Liv. l. II. c. 57.

^e See Letters to Worthington, p. 37, 42.

^f Quod genus divinationis Varro a Persis dicit allatum, quo et ipsum Numam, et postea Pythagoram philosophum, usum fuisse commemorant : ubi adhibito sanguine etiam inferos perhibet sciscitari ; et νεκρομαντεϊαν Græce dicit vocari : quæ, five hydromantia, five necromantia, dicatur, id ipsum est, ubi videntur mortui divinare. August. Civ. Dei, l. 7. c. 35. How ill does the account given of Zoroaster, by the modern writers cited by Dr. Hyde, agree with this very ancient testimony of the learned Varro !

rife in Perfia^g, was very generally practised in the heathen nations ; and it was a species of idolatry which had for it's object the spirits of departed men. Not to descend into more particulars, Agathias quotes very ancient historians, (Berofus the Babylonian, Athenocles, and Symmachus,) as affirming, that the Perfians worshipped of old Jupiter and Saturn, and all the other celebrated gods of Greece^h, but under different names.

It is time to close this article, which has been drawn out to so great a length, on account of it's singular importance, and the very different view generally given of it by learned men. From all that has been offered, it appears, that, if we clear the Perfians from the charge of idolatry upon the evidence produced by Dr. Hyde, we adopt an

^g Magic, according to Pliny, (l. 30, c. 1.) was the invention of Zoroaster.

^h Το μὲν γὰρ παλαιόν, Δία τε καὶ Κρόνον, καὶ τῶν τε ἀπαντὰς τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι θρυλλομένων ἐτιμῶν θεῶν. Agathias, l. 2. p. 58. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1594.

hypothesis very improbable in itself, and ill supported. At the same time we contradict the testimony of numerous unexceptionable witnesses to the facts here stated; the truth of which might even have been presumed from their own internal credibility, considering the disposition and situation of the Persians. — It farther appears, that the difference between them and the Greeks, pointed out by Herodotus, is not so considerable as has been supposed; and very probably did not subsist for any great length of time after the age of that historian¹. This difference was perfectly consistent with a general agreement in other respects, and particularly with the deification of human spirits. Indeed, the ancient Persians are one of the last nations which can be suspected of not worshipping the spirits

¹ We learn from Strabo, p. 1065, that in Cappadocia, where there was a great number of the magi, there were also many *temples* of the Persian gods, and a *statue* of Omanus, p. 1066, a Persian demon, p. 779. See above, p. 71. note *.

of illustrious men, if it be true, as is generally allowed, that they asserted the existence of divine genii, who assumed for a time the human nature.

The foregoing observations are not offered as a vindication of any thing I had formerly advanced on the subject of the heathen gods, but are the result of an unbiaſſed inquiry. Whether they are juſt, others are more able to determine.

VII. Concerning the *Arabians*, Mr. Fell^k (copying Dr. Blackwell^l) ſays, that “ they acknowledged no other gods “ beſides the ſun and moon.” In proof of this aſſertion we are referred to Herodotus. But the text of this hiſtorian ought to have been given the reader, and not merely the comment upon it. His words are^m, *They acknowlege no other gods than Dionyſus (or Bacchus) and Urania :*

^k P. 8.

^l Mythol. p. 273.

^m Διονυſον δε θεον μνον και την Ουρανιην ηγεſονται ειναι. — Ονομαζεſι δε τον μεν Διονυſον, Ουρεταλτ' την δε Ουρανιην, Αλιλατ. Herodot. l. 3. c. 8.

— “ they

— “ they call the former *Urotalt*, and
“ the latter *Alilat*.”

Had Mr. Fell, instead of transcribing a modern author, consulted Herodotus, he would have found that this historian could not, by Bacchus, understand the fun, because he speaks of it as no improbable conjecture of the Arabians, that the cinnamon grew in the countries in which Bacchus *was educated*ⁿ. From other writers we have certain information, that Bacchus was an illustrious conqueror^o. Strabo^p in particular informs us, that Alexander, finding the Arabians had only *two* gods, (viz. Jupiter and Bacchus,) thought he had a right to be worshipped as *a third*,

ⁿ Id. c. 111. Plutarch speaks of the *nurses* of Bacchus. Vit. Camilli, p. 131. C.

^o Sir Isaac Newton (Chronol. p. 98, 99.) takes Sefac to be the Bacchus of the Arabians, and their Cœlus, or Uranus, or Jupiter Uranius, to be the same king of Egypt with his father Hammon, according to Lucan :

Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatīs
Gentibus, atque Indis, unus sit Jupiter Ammon.

^p Lib. 16. p. 1076.

provided he conquered, and restored their former liberty. Arrian^a confirms the testimony of Strabo; telling us, that the Arabians worshipped only Uranus and Dionysus^r; and assigning the reason of their worshipping the latter, viz. *the fame of leading an army into India*^s; in which respect, he adds, Alexander did not think himself inferior to him, and therefore pleaded he had an equal right to their worship. As to the Urania or Alilat of the Arabs, whom Herodotus joins with Bacchus, since the latter has been proved to be a human personage, we may reasonably conclude that such also the former was. She is probably the same with the Alitta spoken of above^t, and consequently no other than the Syrian Astarte; of whom farther mention will be made

^a De Expedit. Alexand. p. 300. ed. Gronovii.

^r Comp. p. 85. note °.

^s Κατα δόξαν της ες Ινδου στρατιας.

^t P. 48, 68.

in the sequel. Amongst the gods of this people, Tertullian * reckons Dyfares ; Suidas, Mars, (which signifies *the valiant* ;) and Porphyry^z, Dumatius, to whom they annually offered a human victim.

If you choose to set aside the authority of the Greeks, and to rely rather on the oriental writers ; one well acquainted with them has given us the names of some of their antediluvian idols, or what were said to be such, which the Arabs acknowledged as gods, having been men of great piety and merit in their times^a. And, though the idols were not supposed to be *sui juris*, (or gods in their own natural right, but only *companions* of God,) yet they offered sacrifices and other oblations to them as well as to God, who

* Apol. c. 24.

^y Sir Is. Newton's Chronol. p. 98. See above concerning Mars, p. 27, 35.

^z De Abstin. l. 2. §. 56.

^a Sale's Koran, preliminary Disc. p. 19. qto.

was often put off with the least portion^b. Somewhat of this kind we observe in popish countries. The rosary ascribed to the Virgin Mary consists of a hundred and fifty *Ave-Marias*, and only fifteen *Pater-nosters*.

Should it be here objected, that the only gods of the Arabs taken notice of in the book of Job^c are the sun and moon, and therefore that these were the sole objects of idolatrous worship in the age in which that book was written; I answer, that, even supposing this to be the case in the land of Uz, where Job lived, it will not follow from hence that it was the same every where else. Nay, had this been the case universally in the age here spoken of, yet it might be quite otherwise in succeeding ages. According to a late writer^d, the description of idolatry in the book of Job is of greater antiquity than that given by Moses. But the ques-

^b Id. p. 16.

^c Ch. 31, 26.

^d Fell, p. 36.

tion agitated in the Dissertation concerned only the gods of the *Heathens*; that is, the nations contradistinguished from the Israelites; a distinction that could not take place before the time of Moses, when the Israelites were first formed into a nation. The question had no relation to any times, or countries, but those in which some demons were acknowledged as a distinct order of deities from the heavenly bodies. But, after all, the language of Job neither asserts, nor implies, that there were no other objects of idolatrous worship in his age or in his country besides the sun and moon. When he was asserting his own freedom from idolatry, he naturally observed that he was not chargeable even with the most specious and alluring kind of it; that neither *the sun when it shined, nor the moon walking in brightness*, had tempted him to pay them any religious honours. So that the occasion led him to specify the sun and moon rather than any other objects of idolatrous worship; though
there

there might be in the land of Uz, even at the early period when he is supposed to have lived, many such, both other celestial luminaries and human spirits. And it is with peculiar impropriety that the language of Job is urged to overturn the testimonies to the worship of dead men and women in other countries and in later times.

VIII. Mr. Fell^e tells us, that “ the inhabitants of Meroë in Æthiopia worshipped no other gods than Jupiter and Bacchus ; that is, the heavens and the sun.” This writer should have said, “ In this manner is Herodotus explained by Dr. Blackwell”^f. What the historian really says is, that the inhabitants of Meroë worshipped no other gods than Jupiter and Bacchus, and had an oracle of Jupiter^g : a plain proof that Jupiter here denotes a human

^e P. 8.

^f Mythol. p. 274.

^g Δια θεων και Διονυσον μανεις σεβονται· — και σφι μαντιον Διος κατεστηκε. Herodot. l. 2. c. 29.

spirit. In the opinion of Sir Isaac Newton^h, these two gods were Jupiter Ammon and Osiris, according to the language of Egypt. We are informed by Strabo, that the *Æthiopians* had both *an immortal*, and *a mortal, god*ⁱ; that they commonly deified their benefactors and persons of royal birth^k; that they regarded their kings as *the common saviours and preservers of all*^l; and even worshipped them as gods while living^m. The inhabitants of Meroë in particular wor-

^h Chronol. p. 213.

ⁱ Θεον δε νομιζουσι, τον μεν αθανατον — τον δε θνητον. Strabo, l. 17. p. 1177, 1178.

^k P. 1178. Ως δ' επιπολυ της ευεργετας και βασιλικας θεας νομιζουσι.

^l Και τετων της μεν βασιλεας κοινως απαντων μεν σωτηρας και φυλακας. Ib.

^m Σεβονται δ' ως θεας της βασιλεας, κατακλεισθας οντας και οικουσας το πλεον. P. 1177. — This is confirmed by the testimony of Diodorus Siculus, who says, (l. 3. p. 177. ed. Weffeling.) that, as soon as the king was chosen, the people worshipped him as a god : Ευδης δε και προσκυει και τιμα καθαπερ θεον.

shipped *Hercules, Pan, and Isis, with another foreign deity*".

Here the reader may pause a moment, and review the ground he has been treading. The heathen gods were of two sorts; the constituent parts and principles of the world, and demons. The Heathens asserted the existence of demons of a celestial origin; but the Dissertation undertook to prove, that such demons, as were the more immediate objects of the established worship in certain nations, were natives of the earth. We have seen ° what industry a late writer exerted to disguise this proposition; let us now consider, whether he attacks it with judgement and success, or even took his aim aright. The proposition was explained concerning the *polished* nations of the world; but the gentleman

° Οἱ δ' ἐν Μεροῇ, καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ Πανῇ, καὶ Ἰσίδι, σεβονται, πρὸς ἄλλῳ τινὶ βαρβαρικῷ. Strabo, l. 17. p. 1178. This foreign god could not be either an elementary or sidereal deity, any more than Hercules, or Pan, or Isis.

° P. 11-17.

draws his objections from the supposed case of *Barbarians*, and the greatest savages. The proposition respected only those nations in which, besides the natural gods, demons also, of one kind or other, were worshipped; but the gentleman undertakes to confute it by the case of those people who, according to his account of them, had no demons at all. Had his facts been true, they would have been foreign from the point.

But the facts which he alleges are not true. There is positive evidence, that, out of the eight fore-mentioned nations, which he affirms acknowledged only the natural gods, seven * worshipped human spirits. Nay, some of them had no other deities but these^p. He not only adopts Dr. Blackwell's peculiar interpretations without acknowledging his obligation, but copies his mistakes; which is a sure proof that he took every thing upon trust, and had himself no know-

* The case of the *Massagetes* alone is doubtful. P. 28.

^p P. 32.

ledge of his subject. When Mr. Fell deserts his guide, he is far from appearing to greater advantage: for then, instead of misinterpreting ancient authors, we find him boldly affirming facts that are false, without producing any testimony to support them, as in the case of the Goths; or appealing to the testimony of writers who contradict their truth, as in the case of the Gètes. Such is this gentleman's manner of writing! It does equal credit to his candour, his judgment, and his learning.

S E C T. II.

Shewing, from the testimony of the Heathens, that many other barbarous nations, besides those specified in the preceding section, paid divine honours to deceased men.

THOUGH, to avoid being tedious, I shall purposely omit many instances of the worship of human spirits
in

in some of the barbarous nations passed over by a late writer, yet the proofs of it in others, that will be here produced, added to those recited in the preceding section, will be sufficient to shew how *generally* it prevailed in the continents of Africa, Europe, and Asia.

I. I shall begin with the mention of several barbarous nations in *Africa*, in which kings and heroes were ranked amongst the gods.

Under the term, *Æthiopia*, the ancients comprehended a large part of Middle Africa, with as much of the southern part of Africa as was then known. In this extensive country, and particularly at Meroë, the metropolis of it, the inhabitants deified their princes and benefactors; as was shewn above¹.

There is a passage in Herodotus, (overlooked by Dr. Blackwell, and consequently not noticed by Mr. Fell, though more to his purpose than any other,) in which this historian, when speaking of

¹ P. 90, 91, 92.

some of the Libyan nomades, says, *they sacrifice to no other gods than the sun and moon*^r. He adds, *to these all the Libyans sacrifice*. It is here taken notice of, as a very singular circumstance, that some of the tribes of Libya worshipped the sun and moon alone; which shews that the practice of the other tribes was different. According to the same author, the *Libyans* always worshipped Neptune^s, who was the son of Pontus^t, and is thought to have been originally of Phenicia, and to have settled afterwards upon the sea-coasts of Libya. Many writers confirm the opinion of his being a human personage^u. Psaphon was deified by the Libyans, for teaching birds to sing these words, *The great god Psaphon*^w. Those Libyans, who dwelt about the lake Tri-

^r Herodot. l. 4. c. 188.

^s L. 2. c. 50.

^t Sanchoniathon, ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. p. 38.

^u Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 386. ed. Wesseling. Lactant. Div. Inst. l. 1. c. 10.

^w Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 19.

tonis, sacrificed to Triton as well as Neptune, and principally to Minerva^x.

The *Augilites* had no other gods but the manes, according to Pomponius Mela^y, whose testimony is confirmed by Pliny^z. The inhabitants of *Cyrene* worshipped their king Battus, the founder of their kingdom^a. In *Africa Propria*, which lay between Cyrenaica and Mauritania, Mopsus, king of the Argives, was admitted into the number of the gods^b. The *Tyrian* Elissa, the founder

^x Herodot. l. 4. c. 188. Concerning Minerva, see Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 38.

^y Augilæ manes tantum deos putant; per eos dejerant; eos ut oracula consulunt; precatique quæ volunt, ubi tumultis incubuere, pro responsis ferunt somnia. Pomp. M. l. 1. c. 8.

^z Augilæ inferos tantum colunt. Pliny, l. 5. c. 8. Compare what Herodotus says of the Nefamones, l. 4. c. 172. and Tertullian, de Anima, c. 57.

^a Herodot. l. 4. c. 161.

^b Quippe tantum eos deos appellant, qui, ex eodem numero justè ac prudenter vitæ curriculo gubernato, pro numine postea ab hominibus proditi, fanis et cæremoniis vulgo advertuntur: ut in Bœotia Amphiaras, in Africa Mopsus, in Ægypto Osiris, alius aliubi gentium, Æsculapius ubique. Apuleius, de Deo Socrat. p. 689, 690. tom. 2. ed. Delph.

of *Carthage*, was worshipped in that city, as long as it remained unconquered^c. In the same city a temple was erected to *Æsculapius*^d. The Carthaginians also sacrificed to *Amilcar*^e. We are here more directly examining the testimony of the Heathens themselves concerning their own gods ; otherwise I might take notice, that Christian writers inform us, that the *Mauritanians* worshipped their kings^f.

The *Atlantians*, a people who inhabited the western parts of Africa, boasted that their country was the birth-place of the gods^g. Their first king, *Uranus*, or *Cœlus*, whose name was

^c *Quamdiu Carthago invicta fuit, pro dea culta est.*
Justin. l. 18. c. 6.

^d Strabo, l. 17, p. 1189.

^e Herodot. l. 7. c. 167.

^f *Unicuique etiam provinciæ et civitati suus deus est ; ut Syriæ Astarte, ut Arabiæ Disares, ut Noricis Belemnus, ut Africæ Cælestis, ut Mauritanix reguli sui.*
Tertull. Apol. c. 24. — *Hac scilicet ratione consecra-verunt et Mauri reges suos.* Lactant. l. 1. c. 15.

^g Diodor. Sic. l. 3. p. 224.

given to heaven, received divine honours after his death ^h; and so also did his wife Titæa, and she was called *Gee*, or *the earth* ^h. Their daughter, Basilea, married Hyperion, her brother, and by him had two children, Helion and Selené: names that from them were given to the sun and moon, and under which they received the honours of those celestial luminaries ⁱ. Basilea was worshipped under the title of the great mother of the gods, on account of the care she took of the education of her brothers and sisters, the *Titans*; one of whom, Atlas, was worshipped in the star that bears his name; and another, Saturn, was the father of the Jupiter who was surnamed *Olympian*. They allow, that there was another Jupiter, the brother of Uranus, and king of Crete ^k.

To the nations of Africa that worshipped human spirits, already taken

^h P. 225.

ⁱ P. 226.

^k P. 229, 239.

notice of, the Egyptians might be added : but their case will more properly fall under consideration in the next chapter.

II. As to *Europe*, it will not be improper to begin with observing, that this continent was by some called *Celtica* ; a name which it derived from the Celtes, the descendents of the Cimbri, part of whom came from Babylon into the western parts of the world. Under the term, Celtes, were comprehended all those nations which were sometimes distinguished by the name of Scythians, Celto-Scythians, Getæ, Gallacians, Gallogrecians, Celtiberians, Teutones, Germans, and Gauls. They were spread, from the sea-shores of Britain and Gaul, as far east as the Palus Mæotis, at the extremity of the Euxine sea ; and from the southernmost parts of Spain to the northern sea, which lies off Archangel in Russia¹. And, if we except the
southern

¹ See *The Antiquities of Cornwall*, by the very learned and judicious Dr. Borlase, book 1. ch. 4. p. 14. and
compare

southern parts of Italy, Greece, and the isles of the Ægean sea, all Europe may be justly said to have been peopled by the ancient Cimbri, or (as they were soon afterwards called) Celtæ^m.

It has been shewn already, that dead men were worshipped by many nations of the Celtes, both in Asia and Europe, and particularly by the Scythians, the Getes, the Goths, and Germans. Now, it seems very reasonable to suppose, that the other Celtic nations worshipped the same gods, or at least did not desert the general principle of deifying their kings and heroes, maintained by those from whom they were descended; especially as it is well known that the Heathens in

compare Pezron's *Antiquities of Nations*, book 1. and the *Ancient Universal History*, v. 6. ch. 12. sect. 1. 8vo. ed. 1747.

^m Pezron endeavours to shew, that several nations of Greece and Italy were descendents of the Titans, whom he takes to be the same with the Celtæ. Book 1. But these countries and the islands of the Ægean sea were peopled from the Syrian continent, according to Dr. Borlase,

general were very tenacious of the religion of their ancestors. Upon inquiry, it will appear, that the religion of all these nations was, in that essential point which I have been endeavouring to establish, one and the same.

The Celtes, under the title of Iberians and Celtiberians, inhabited the country now called *Spain*ⁿ. The Accitani^o, a people of this country, worshipped an image of Mars, who could be no other than the god of the same name amongst the Germans^p, and the Odhen of the Goths^q. The Lusitanians also sacrificed to Mars^r. The Mercury (or Teutates) of the Iberians was the same with him who was worshipped under that name by the Gauls, who will be spoken of in the sequel. A tem-

ⁿ Pliny, l. 3. c. 1.

^o Accitani, Hispana gens, simulachrum Martis, radiis ornatum, maxima religione celebrant, Neton vocantes, Macrobian. Sat. l. 1. c. 19.

^p Above, p. 42.

^q P. 35.

^r Strabo, l. 3. p. 232.

ple was erected at Gades, or Cadiz, both to the Egyptian and Theban Hercules, but no statues^s, as we learn from Philostratus^t and Silius Italicus^u. Even their god Pluto was probably no other than the son of Chronos by Rhea, spoken of by Sanchoniathon^w. It is said, that Spain fell to the lot of this prince^x, and that the Celtes are the remote descendants of the Titans^y.

Let us proceed to consider the objects of religious worship in *Gaul*. The inhabitants of this country were Celtes^z, and were called by that name in the time

^s The Persians and Germans also are said to have had no statues of the gods.

^t Vit. Apol. Tyan. l. 5, c. 4, 5.

^u ——— Nulla effigies, simulachraque nota deorum, Majestate locum, et sacro implevere timore.

Silius Italicus, l. 3.

^w Apud Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 10. p. 38. D. See above, p. 81. note^e.

^x See Ancient Universal Hist. v. 6. b. 1. ch. 12. p. 50.

^y Callimach. Hymn. in Delum, v. 170. et seq. Callimachus calls the Celtes οψιγονοι Τίτνες, the late posterity of the Titans. See Pezron, b. ii. ch. 1.

^z Plutarch. Vit. Camilli, p. 135. D.

of Julius Cæsar^a. This affords reasonable ground to conclude, that they worshipped human spirits as the other Celtic nations did. As a farther proof of this point, we may observe, that they also claimed to be descended from the god Pluto^b, the Titan^c prince just now spoken of.

Much has been said in praise of the religion of the Druids, both in Gaul and Britain; and attempts have been made to clear them from the imputation not only of human sacrifices, but even of polytheism and idolatry, till they were conquered by the Romans. But, if we can rely on the most authentic records of antiquity, the public religion, which was practised under their *sanction*^d,

^a Qui ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra Galli, appellantur. Cæsar, de B. G. init. — Their country was sometimes called Celtogalatia, or Celtogallia.

^b Galli omnes ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant, Cæsar, B. G. l. 6. c. 17.

^c Anc. Univ. Hist. v. 6. p. 40.

^d Ἐθνον δὲ οὐκ ἀνευ Δευιδων. Strabo, l. 4. p. 303. See also Diodorus Siculus, l. 5. p. 354. ed. Wesseling. and Cæsar, l. 6. c. 15.

was not more commendable than that of other nations. The Gauls were exceedingly addicted to magic, divination^c, and idolatry, in their most horrid forms: witness their auguries^f from the blood and entrails of the creatures they sacrificed to false gods. According both to Diodorus Siculus^g and Strabo^h, men were sacrificed for the purpose of divination, and the omens were the palpitation of their limbs after they were stabbed, and the flowing of their blood. This had been their practice from the most remote antiquityⁱ. They appeased their gods with human victims, burn-

^c Natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus. Cæsar, l. 6. c. 15. — Augurandi studio Galli præter cæteros callent. Justin. l. 24. c. 4.

^f In auspicia pugnae hostias cædunt, quarum extis, &c. Justin. l. 26. c. 2.

^g L. 5. p. 354.

^h V. 1. p. 303.

ⁱ Παλαιὰ τινὶ καὶ πολυχρονίῳ παρατηρήσει. Diodor. Sic. ubi supra,

ing to death men as well as beasts*. We may allow, that Cicero, to serve his client, put the most invidious construction upon the conduct of the Gauls; yet he speaks of their offering to the gods human victims in a manner that shews the fact could not be denied¹. The testimony of other writers is liable to no exception. Cæsar, in particular, had the best opportunities of information, by his long residence in Gaul; and he has not only affirmed the fact in question, but also explained the occasions^m upon which they offered human sacri-

* Cæsar (l. 6. c. 15.) says: *Alii immani magnitudine simulachra habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent, quibus succensis, circumventi flamma exanimantur homines.* — Strabo, l. 4. p. 303. affirms, *Βοσκηματα και — ανθρωπους ωλοκαυτεν.*

¹ Quis enim ignorat eos usque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolatorum? Orat. pro Fonteio.

^m Qui sunt affecti gravioribus morbis, quique in præliis periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant, aut se immolaturos vovent. Cæsar, l. 6. c. 15. Compare Justin, l. 6. c. 2.

fices.

fices. He tells us, that criminals were the most acceptable sacrifices; but at the same time he informs us, that, when these were wanting, the innocent supplied their placeⁿ; which is a plain proof that they suffered not as victims to the order of society, but to the vengeance of the gods^o. To them they also sacrificed their captives in war^p. In cases of extraordinary danger, they strove to avert the divine wrath by the slaughter even of their wives and children^q. The Romans were far from being free from the charge of offering hu-

ⁿ Supplicia eorum, qui in furto, aut latrocinio, aut aliqua noxa, sint comprehensi, gratiora diis immortalibus esse arbitrantur. Sed, cum ejus generis copia deficit, etiam ad innocentium supplicia descendunt. Cæsar, l. 6. c. 15. — Compare Diodorus Siculus, l. 5. p. 355. ed. Wesseling.

^o Quod pro vita hominis, nisi vita hominis reddatur, non posse aliter deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur. Cæsar, l. 6. c. 15.

^p Χρῶνται δὲ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ὡς ἱερεῖοις πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς. Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 355.

^q Sperantes deorum minas expiari cæde suorum posse, conjuges et liberos suos trucidant. Justin. l. 26. c. 2.

man sacrifices; nevertheless they were shocked at the far greater excess to which this practice was carried by the Gauls^{*}; amongst whom it in some measure remained, even after various Roman edicts were passed to restrain and abolish it[†]. This is a plain proof, that this rite of worship had taken deep root amongst the Gauls; and that their religion was not corrupted, but reformed, by the Romans. Now, if the Gauls offered human sacrifices, we may from hence infer, that those gods were war-

^{*} Religio apud Gallos *diræ immanitatis*. See the next note.

[†] The superstition of the Druids, which the Roman citizens were forbidden to practise by Augustus, Claudius attempted wholly to abolish. *Druidarum religionem apud Gallos diræ immanitatis, et tantum civibus sub Augusto interdictum, penitus abolevit.* Suetonius, *Vit. Claudii Cæsaris*, c. 25. See Pliny, l. 30. c. 1. concerning what was done against the Druids by Tiberius. Strabo takes notice of the Romans drawing off the Gauls both from their cruel sacrifices and divinations. Dr. Borlase (*Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 154.) has shewn, that their fondness for human victims continued even after their conversion to Christianity.

riors and heroes ; as will be shewn in the sequel.

Other proofs of this point are not wanting. I say nothing of their *temples*, mentioned by Suetonius and Strabo ; though (whether they were edifices, or, as some suppose, only consecrated woods and groves) they were probably the sepulchres of their gods. The *statues* and *images*[†] of their divinities afford more certain evidence that those divinities had been men.

That several of them were of human extract, we shall see no ground to doubt, if we proceed to a distinct examination of them. Such unquestionably was *Hercules*, whom the Gauls worshipped on account of his being the first who surmounted the difficulties of passing the Alps[‡], which had been deemed insuperable.

[†] Immani magnitudine simulachra habent. Cæsar, l. 6. c. 15.

[‡] Gens aspera, audax, bellicosa, quæ prima post Herculem, cui ea res virtutis admirationem, et immortalitatis

rable. Their *Apollo*, or *Belenus*, was the tutelary god of Noricum^w, and born, it is probable, in Aquileia^x; from whence his worship was brought into Gaul. These instances of the worship of human spirits cannot be disputed. Nor do I see any reasonable ground to doubt concerning those that follow. The *Jupiter*, or *Tharanis*, of the Gauls, according to Cæsar's^y account of him, answers to the Thor of the Goths, the president of the air, and ruler of thunder^z. To him hu-

talitatis fidem, dedit, Alpium invicta juga, et frigore intrastabilia loca, transcendit. Justin. l. 24. c. 4. — Est locus Herculeis aris sacer, says Petronius Arbiter, when speaking of the place from whence Hercules crossed the Alps.

^w Above, p. 98. note f.

^x He is spoken of as the επιχωριος θεος of the Aquileians, who called him Belis: Βελιν δε καλεσσι τετον, — Απολλωνα ειναι εδελοντες. Herodian. Hist. l. 8. c. 7. p. 271. ed. Oxon. 1704. Hence it appears, that Belis could not be the sun, as some affirm. As to Apollo, see above, p. 27. note z.

^y Jovem imperium cœlestium tenere. Cæsar. l. 6. c. 16.

^z Above, p. 36.

man

man sacrifices ^a were offered. The character given of *Mars*, by the same illustrious writer ^b, corresponds to that of the northern Odhen ^c. To this martial hero the first invention of armour is ascribed ^d; and to him captives in war were sacrificed ^e. He is thought to be the same with Hefus, who was appeased with human victims ^f. The god, whom both the Gauls and Germans principally worshipped, was *Mercury* ^g. That the Her-
mes or Mercury of Europe was the same with the Thoth or Thoyth of Egypt,

^a Below, note f.

^b Martem bella regere. Cæsar, l. 6. c. 16.

^c Above, p. 35.

^d Diodor. Sic. l. 5. c. 235.

^e Cæsar, l. 6. c. 16.

^f Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates, horrendæ feris altaribus Hefus,
Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.

Lucan. l. 1. v. 444.

Lactantius says, (l. i. 21.) Galli Hefum atque Theutaten humano cruore placabant.

^g Concerning the Gauls, Cæsar (l. 6. c. 16.) says, Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. — Tacitus gives the same account of the Germans: Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt. Mor. Germ. c. 9.

appears

appears from the testimonies of Philo Byblius ^h, Plato ⁱ, Cicero ^k, and Servius ^l. He instructed Gaul and Egypt in arts and commerce ^m. From his being joined by the Germans with Mars ⁿ, it seems as if he was sometimes worshipped under a military character. Perhaps they ascribed their victories to Mercury when they were gained by genius and stratagem, and to Mars when they prevailed by open valour. His military

^h Ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 9. p. 31.

ⁱ In Phædro, p. 274. In Philebo, p. 18. ed. Serrani.

^k See note ^m below.

^l In Æn. iv. 577.

^m Mercurius dicitur Argum interemisisse, ob eamque causam in Egyptum profugisse, atque Ægyptiis leges et literas tradidisse. Hunc Ægyptii Thoth appellant. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 22. — Hunc (scil. Mercurium) omnium artium inventorem ferunt. — Hunc ad quæstus pecuniæ mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Cæsar, l. 6. c. 16. — Arnobius speaks to the same purpose, l. 4. p. 170. — Tertullian (de Coron. mil. c. 8.) says, Mercurius literas enarravit necessarias, et commercii rebus, et nostris erga deum studiis.

ⁿ Diversam aciem Marti et Mercurio sacravere. Tacit. Annal. l. 13. c. 57.

character

character accounts for his being appeased with human blood °. He is supposed to be the same with the cruel Teutates ^p, the Phenician Taut or Thaut. His sepulchre was shewn at Hermapolis ^q.

The forementioned gods were worshipped by the Gauls, long before their conquest by the Romans. After this period, it is well known, they dedicated temples, and raised altars, to the Roman emperors; and adopted all the gods of their conquerors. Nor is there any reason to suppose, that this was the effect of mere complaisance; because it was agreeable to the principles of the heathen religion. And we have seen, that they adhered to those principles, in opposition to the Roman authority, even in a case in which they were most repugnant to the clearest dictates of rea-

° Tacit. Mor. German. c. 9. Comp. Annal. l. 13. c. 57.

^p Mentioned above, note ^f.

^q Clement. recogn. apud Patres apostol. v. 1. p. 594. ed. Clerici. See also what is said concerning Mercury, chap. II. under the article, *Phenicians*.

son and humanity : I refer to the bloody custom of offering to their gods human victims. I cannot forbear adding, that, inasmuch as it is generally allowed that the Gauls and Germans had the same objects of worship, the distinct accounts given of the gods of both mutually illustrate and confirm each other.

Now, if, in Spain, Portugal, Gaul, Germany, and the more northern nations of Europe, human spirits were deified, what reason is there to believe, that the other nations of Europe had not the same objects of worship ? Many of them were peopled by the Celtes^r. This was the case as to Britain in particular. And was the religion of Britain different from that of Gaul ? The very contrary is allowed to be true ; nor could it be otherwise, because both religions had their rise from the ancient idolatry of the East. The discipline of the Druids was common both to Gaul and Bri-

^r See above, p. 100. note ¹.

tain^s. The sacrifices and arts of divination in both countries were the same: for the British Druids took their omens from human victims, as we have seen the Gaulish did^t. Indeed, it would be easy to produce distinct proofs of the custom of human sacrifices in most nations of the world^u, and of Europe in particular; which is itself evidence sufficient of the worship of human spirits in those nations. As to the southern

^s *Disciplina (scil. Druidum) in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur. Cæsar, l. 6. c. 12.*

^t Tacitus, speaking of the inhabitants of Anglesey, a British island, says: *Præsidium posthac impositum victis, excisque luci, sævis superstitionibus sacri: nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris consulere deos, fas habebant. Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 20.* — From the foregoing observations it appears, that Origen (on Ezek. iv.) was mistaken when he said, (or rather, that he is misinterpreted when he is represented as saying,) that the Druids taught the Britons to believe there is but one God. They probably acknowledged, as the other heathen nations did, one God who was superior to the rest, or a supreme deity.

^u *Ista toto mundo consensere, quamquam discordi, et sibi ignoto. Pliny, l. 30. c. 1.*

parts of Italy, Greece, and the eastern islands of Europe, if they were not peopled by the Celtes, they were by the Syrians^w; and they derived their religion from them and the Egyptians, whose gods will be considered in the next chapter. As to the Macedonians, the name of one of their mortal deities is preserved by Tertullian^x, in a passage which will be cited when I come to speak of Cilicia in Asia. Justin says, that the temple of Jupiter (of whom enough has been said already) was^y held in high veneration from the most remote antiquity.

I cannot forbear taking particular notice of the *Thracians*, whom Herodotus^z calls *the greatest nation of any amongst men, except the Indians*. By some they are reckoned amongst the Scythians; and it is certain that, like them, they were

^w See above, p. 101. note ^m.

^x De Anima, c. 46.

^y Veterrimæ Macedonum religionis. Justin. l. 24. c. 2.

^z L. 5. c. 3.

worshippers of Zamolxis. Proofs of this point were adduced above^a; one of which was the testimony of a Thracian in Plato. I will here add a passage from Lucian^b: *The Thracians sacrifice to Zamolxis, a fugitive from Samos, who came to reside amongst them.* Besides their great legislator, they deified Orpheus, and also Odryfus, (the founder of the nation, at least of a part of it,) and others^c, according to the testimony of Tertullian and Epiphanius. But, waving the authority of Christian writers, as not being immediately to our present purpose, I add, that the passage in which Herodotus^d is supposed to say, “ the Thracians worshipped *only* Mars, Bacchus, and Diana,” may only import,

^a P. 32. Compare p. 27, 28.

^b Jupiter Tragœd. tom. 2. p. 152.

^c Tertullian. de Anima, c. 2. Photii Bibliotheca, XLV. Epiphanius, l. 1, p. 8.

^d Θεοὶ δὲ σέβονται μὲν τρεῖς, Ἀρεὰ, καὶ Διόνυσον, καὶ Ἀρεμιν. Herodot. l. 5. c. 7. Compare the passage from Herodotus, cited p. 65. note ^m.

that these were their *principal* gods. They might be the only gods worshipped by all the different nations of Thrace, or the only gods they had in common with other nations. He could not mean, that no other gods but these were worshipped by any of the people of Thrace ; for he knew that Zamolxis was acknowledged as a god by the Getes, a people of this country^e : and he also informs us, that the Thracians of Absynthus sacrificed a Persian to Plestorus, a god of the country, according to their custom^f. Much less did Herodotus mean, that the Thracians acknowledged only the natural gods ; for we learn from him, that Bacchus was educated in Arabia^g. He also informs us, that the Thracians in Asia had, in their country^h, an oracle of Mars, who was cer-

^e Above, p. 32.

^f Herodot. l. 9. c. 118.

^g Above, p. 85. note ⁿ.

^h L. 7. c. 76.

tainly a Thracianⁱ. His sepulchre was shewn in Thrace, according to Clemens Romanus, who makes mention of many other heathen gods whose sepulchres were well known^k. Each nation of Thrace seems to have had it's own peculiar divinity; and their kings prided themselves in their relation to Hermes: for Herodotus^l, to the passage cited from him above, subjoins the following declaration: *Their kings, besides the national deities, adore Hermes with greater devotion than their other gods, swear by him alone, and claim to be descended from him*^m. Having given ample specimens of the worship of human spirits in the different nations of Europe,

III. Let us proceed to *Asia*.

That dead men were deified in many parts of this vast continent, particularly

ⁱ Virgil calls Thrace, *Rhesi Mavortia tellus*. Georg. IV. 462.

^k Clemens, *Recogn.* l. 10. c. 24. tom. 1. p. 594. ed. Clerici.

^l L. 5. c. 7.

^m Concerning Mercury, see p. 111.

in Arabia, Persia, and the boundless regions called *Scythia*, has been already shewn. The same will be proved concerning several other great nations of Asia in the next chapter, when the objects of worship amongst the people polished by learning come under consideration. But, besides the nations which will be there spoken of, and those already specified, there were many others in which human spirits were worshipped. It would be endless to recount all the rude and barbarous people who acknowledged such gods as these. The mention of some of the most considerable will serve as proper samples of the rest.

In Sarmatia Asiaticaⁿ, near the Palus Mæotis, the hero Achilles was deified. In Colchis there was a temple and grove dedicated to Phrixus°. Medea was esteemed a goddess in the same place, as

ⁿ Strabo, l. 11. p. 756.

• Hic Phixi templum et lucus. Mela, l. 1. c. 21.

Athenagoras^p affirms upon the authority of Alcman and Hesiod. Athenagoras, in his learned apology for the Christians, insists largely upon this topic, that the Heathens, as appeared from their own records, or from facts of the greatest notoriety, worshipped gods that had once been men and women. He mentions by name many such, (which I pass over,) and says, the time would fail him to enumerate all the rest^q. I could not omit his testimony in this place, because it is confirmed by the Heathens themselves. — To return. Protefilaus was worshipped in Abydena^r; Autolykus at Sinope in Paphlagonia, where he had an oracle^s; and Iphigenia by the inhabitants of Taurus^t; Hector and He-

^p Legat. pro Christian. p. 51, 52. Oxon. 1706.

^q Επιλειψει με η ημερα το πληθος καταλεγοντα. Athenag. p. 52.

^r Sunt Protefilai ossa consecrato delubro. Mela, l. 2. c. 2.

^s Strabo, l. 12. p. 822.

^t Herodot. l. 4. c. 103.

lena at Ilium in Phrygia^u; Sarpedon^w, Cybele, and Attis, at Troas^x; Achilles at Sigæum^y; and, at Smyrna, Homer^z. Divine honours were paid to Alabandus in Caria^a; to Pandarus in Lycia^b; to Niobe^c and Mopfus^d in Cilicia; to Acmon^e in Cappadocia; in Pontus to Patroclus^f; in Armenia to Tanais or A-

^u Athenag. Legat. p. 50.

^w Pliny, l. 13. c. 13.

^x See the history of Cybele, in Diodor. Sic. l. 3. c. 30.

^y Strabo, l. 13. p. 891.

^z Id. l. 14. p. 956. I omit most of the Grecian colonies in Asia, because they do not fall under the description of Barbarians, and because there can be no doubt about their having the same objects of worship as Greece; which will be considered in the next chapter.

^a Cicero, de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 15, 19.

^b Strabo, l. 14. p. 981.

^c Athenag. Legat. p. 52.

^d Nam et oraculis hoc genus stipatus est orbis; ut Amphiarai apud Oropum, Amphilochoi apud Mallum, Sarpedonis in Troade, Trophonii in Bœotia, Mopfi in Cilicia, Hermiones in Macedonia, Pasiphaes in Lacedæmonia. Tertullian. de Anima, c. 46.

^e Stephan. Byzant. in voc. *Acmon*.

^f Clement. Recog. l. 10. c. 25.

naitis;

naitis^g; and in Media to Hephæstion^h. The haughty monarchs of Parthia were stiled *the brothers of the sun and moon*, and were believed to mingle with the stars at deathⁱ. As the Parthians were subject, first to the Medes, and afterwards to the Persians; and there was an intercourse and alliance between the two latter; it is very reasonable to suppose, that the religion of these three nations was very much the same^k: which confirms what was observed above, concerning the gods of Persia being the same with those of the surrounding nations; that is, both celestial and terrestrial.

If, from Persia, we go into the remoter regions of Asia, we shall find that the custom of deifying human spirits

^g Strabo, l. 11. p. 805. — See above, p. 70.

^h Compare Quint. Curt. l. 10. c. 4. Justin. l. 12. c. 12. and Plutarch. in Alexandro. — The Medes worshipped their kings while living. Strabo, l. xi. p. 797.

ⁱ Ammianus Marcellinus, l. 23. c. 6. See also Martial, Ep. 72.

^k Strabo says, (l. 11. p. 805.) that both the Medes and Armenians observe the Persian rites of worship.

prevailed

prevailed there from the earliest ages : for Ammon and Bacchus were worshipped in India ¹. Diodorus Siculus ^m makes the Indian Bacchus the most ancient of all those who bore that name. He went from Affyria into India, according to the account given by some of the Indians to Apollonius ⁿ. One reason assigned, by the Pendets of Indostan, for worshipping brute-animals, is, their being supposed to contain in them the souls of departed heroes ^o. And a modern voyager ^p to the Indies assures us, that the Heathens adore their god Ram, though the

¹ Concerning Bacchus and Ammon, see above, p. 85. note ^o.

^m L. 3. p. 232. ed. Wesseling.

ⁿ Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. Tyan. l. 2. c. 9. p. 57.

^o Bernier's Memoirs, tom. 3. p. 154, 155, 156.

^p Thevenot, Voyages des Indes, part. 3. liv. 1. c. 38. Quand un Chrétien leur parle de leur dieu Ram que les Gentils adorent, ils ne soutiennent point qu'il est Dieu, et disent seulement que c'étoit un grand roi, dont la sainteté et le secours qu'il a donné aux hommes lui ont acquis une communication plus particulière avec Dieu qu'autres saints, et qu'ainsi ils lui portent beaucoup plus de respect,

Brachmans,

Brachmans, in their conversation with Christians, pretend that they only honour him with singular respect as a great ^q monarch, whose extraordinary virtues and merit towards mankind give him a peculiar interest in the favour of the Deity. The most ancient of all their gods was Perambramman, who was worshipped together with his three sons^r. To many other men they paid divine honours^s, and used libations, sacrifices, and various other rites, to expiate the manes of the dead^t. Accord-

^q That is, I suppose, with a *civil* respect: an excuse like this was made for the Persians, p. 56. and for the Chinese, p. 41.

^r Parambramman nescio quem deorum antiquissimum colunt, et ex eo filios tres. Peter Maffeus, in his first book *Historiarum Indicarum*, p. 55.

^s Multis præterea, non hominibus modo, sed brutis etiam animantibus, cœlestes habent honores, et templa ædificant. Id. ib. They paid extraordinary devotion to oxen; — quod hominum vita functorum animos in eam maxime belluam immigrare opinantur. P. 56.

^t Sacrificiis, libationibus, cæterisque nefariis ritibus, — ad expiandos mortuorum manes, utuntur. Id. ib.

ing to the editor of the *Ezour Vedam*^u, Budda, the most celebrated of the Samanean doctors, who was born near seven hundred years before Christ, was honoured as a god, and his doctrine was adopted, not only in India, but also in Japan, China, Siam, and Tartary. The *Ezour Vedam* itself is said to assert the unity, but considers all the other gods as mortals. Every one has heard of the extraordinary devotion paid in *Tibet* and other eastern nations to the grand *Lama*, whom they regard as omniscient and immortal: for, when he dies in appearance, they imagine he only changes his abode, being born again in another body^w.

If, from *Tibet*, you proceed to *China*, you will find, in that vast empire, gods taken from amongst mankind. What

^u *L'Ezour Vedam, ou ancien commentaire du Vedam, contenant l'exposition des opinions religieuses et philosophiques des Indiens, par M. de Sainte Croix. Monthly Review, appendix to vol. 61. p. 500.*

^w See *Bernier's Memoirs*, v. 4. p. 127. and *Complete System of Geography*, v. 2. p. 301. ed. 1747.

was only incidentally observed above*, concerning the Chinese, cannot be omitted in this place, to which it properly belongs; viz. that they pay an idolatrous worship to the souls of their ancestors, and honour Confucius with the same religious ceremonies as they do their celestial and terrestrial spirits.

At the very extremity of the East, in Japan, there are clear traces of the same superstition. I need not take any particular notice of their god Cambadaxi, of whom an account is given by Caspar Vilela^y. It is sufficient to observe, in general, concerning the Japanese, that they deified their kings and men of royal birth, and those also who had distinguished themselves by useful inventions or any illustrious deeds. Nay, (what is very remarkable,) the Japanese, at such a distance from Greece relate of these hero-gods the like absurd, ridiculous,

* P. 41.

^y In l. 3. *Epistolarum Japonicarum. Voss. de Idololat. p. 95.*

and immoral, stories, as the Greek poets fabled concerning Jupiter, Saturn, Bacchus, and their other fictitious deities^z. This observation may be applied, in a good measure, to the Brachmans of India^a.

I shall not trouble the reader here with any remarks upon a late writer, whose learning allowed him to affirm^b, “ that divine honours were not paid to “ deceased heroes in the eastern nations;” though the very contrary has been demonstrated by the most numerous testimonies. Two general remarks shall close this section.

^z Reges olim ipsos, regumque filios, aut invento quopiam, insignive alio facinore, falsæ divinitatis gloriam consequutos. Horum de vita rebusque gestis, uti de Jove, Saturno, Libero, cæterisque inanibus diis, Græci poetæ absurda quædam, et ridenda, et turpia, fabulantur. Maffei *Histor. Indic.* l. 12. p. 533. — In the island of Taprobane, now called Ceylon, Venus was worshipped. Dionsyii *Periegesis*, v. 592.

^a Multos habent suarum superstitionum libros ——— quæ nonnihil ad veteris Græciæ fabulas et auguralem Hetruriæ disciplinam videntur accedere. Maffei *Histor. Indic.* l. 1. p. 56.

^b Fell, p. 7.

1. The

1. The testimonies, produced in this and the foregoing sections, are sufficient to shew, that the worship of human spirits, in the nations stiled *barbarous*, was very *general*. The known exceptions are so few, that they scarcely deserve to be mentioned. Dr. Blackwell has furnished us only with one, if the case of the *Massagetes*^c be indeed an exception. Having no sinister design to answer, I did not conceal from the reader the case of some of the *Libyan Nomades*^d, (overlooked by that learned writer,) who worshipped only the natural gods. I now add, that the same has been affirmed concerning the *Albani*, a people who bordered upon the *Caspian sea*. But I question whether this can be inferred from the account given of them by *Strabo*^e, who only says: *They worship the gods; the sun, and Jupiter, and the*

^c Above, p. 28.

^d P. 95, 96.

^e Θεοις δὲ τιμῶσιν· Ἡλίον, καὶ Δία, καὶ Σελήνην· διαφε-
ροντως δὲ τὴν Σελήνην. *Strabo*, l. 11. p. 768.

moon; principally the latter. Had this accurate writer, by Jupiter, here meant *heaven*, it would have been more natural for him to have used the Greek term that expresses it, especially in connexion with two other natural objects, the sun and moon. By Jupiter, therefore, he probably intended the president of the air: an office which the Heathens assigned to a human spirit. Besides, Strabo does not affirm, that the Albanians worshipped no other gods but those whom he specified. He takes notice, indeed, of their shewing no respect to the dead^f; but this might be very consistent with their worshipping such men as antiquity had deified. I shall only add, that if, in some nations, the natural gods alone were acknowledged, we have seen that there were others in which they had no gods but deified men and women^g. In most of the nations, of which we are speaking, there were both natural and mortal gods.

^f Id. ib.

^g P. 32, 97.

2. The foregoing testimonies justify the limited explication, given above^h, of a passage in Plato, in which he says, “ *Many of the Barbarians, in his time, held only the natural gods.*” For most of these testimonies refer to times prior to those of this celebrated philosopher. And there will be occasion to shew, in the sequel, that the worship of human spirits very generally prevailed in the early ages of the world.

^h P. 10, note 7. Compare Fell, p. 9.

C H A P. II.

Proving, from the testimonies of the Heathens, that they paid religious honours to dead men in the nations polished by learning.

AMONGST the nations which answer this description, we may reckon the Chaldeans, Babylonians, Syrians, Phenicians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. To these we must add such Arabians as bordered upon Judea and Egypt.

It is to the gods of these nations, of such of them especially as were upon the confines of Canaan¹, that the Scriptures refer, when they speak of the heathen deities. The knowledge of the gods of these nations, therefore, must be highly useful to the lover of sacred literature.

¹ The Israelites went after the Heathen that were round about them. 2 Kings xvii. 15.

My more immediate design at present is to shew, that, in all ^k the fore-mentioned nations, divine honours were paid to dead men and women.

S E C T. I.

I Shall begin with considering the case of the PHENICIANS ; because the account given us of their gods will be of use to us in explaining those of the other polished nations.

It has been said, with no small degree of confidence, that “ there can be *no* “ *doubt* but that the Greeks themselves “ have declared, that the *Phenicians* never worshipped such gods as had been “ men¹.” Who the Greeks are, that have made this declaration, is a secret the gentleman has locked up in his own breast, or rather is (I apprehend) a great secret even to himself. As Sanchonia-

^k The gods of the Arabs were considered above, p. 84.

¹ Fell, p. 31.

thon is the author he had last mentioned, he probably mistook him for a Greek writer. But the history of Sanchoniathon was written in the Phenician language, as the learned well know ; and was only translated into Greek by Philo of Byblus. A part of that translation is preserved by Eusebius^m. Philo, in his preface to it, has given us the following extractⁿ from his author ; introducing it with a declaration, that it was previously necessary to the right understanding of his history°. I shall lay it before the reader, not for the sake of refuting the gentleman's unsupported assertion, which those acquainted with antiquity must know to be false ; but because it will

^m Præp. Ev. l. 1.

ⁿ Whether the following citation be Philo's extract from Sanchoniathon, or the account which Philo himself thought it necessary to give in order to the right understanding of his author, is a matter of no moment. It may be referred indifferently either to the one or the other.

° Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. p. 32. D.

throw great light upon the general subject.

Sanchoniathon, who is supposed to have approached near to the age of Moses, writes as follows^p. “ *The most ancient of the Barbarians, especially the Phenicians and Egyptians, from whom other people derived this custom, accounted those the GREATEST GODS^q, who had found out things most necessary and useful in life, and had been benefactors to mankind. These they worshipped as gods^r; and, applying their temples to this use, they consecrated to their names pillars and statues of wood, which the Phenicians held in high veneration, and instituted the most solemn festivals in their honour. More especially did they give the names of their kings to the mundane elements, and to other things to which they attributed divinity. For physical beings alone, such as the sun, moon, planets, and elements, and things of*

^p Id. p. 32, 33.

^q Θεοὺς ἐνομιζόντων μεγίστους.

^r Ὡς θεοὺς προσέκυνον.

“ the same kind, did they acknowledge
 “ to be strictly and properly gods*.
 “ *So that some of their gods were MOR-*
 “ *TAL, and others IMMORTAL†.*”

That part of this citation from Sanchoniathon, or Philo Byblius, here printed in Roman characters, was given in the Dissertation on Miracles^u; as was also so much of the other part^w, here distinguished by Italics, as was necessary to shew, that the Phenicians and other ancient nations worshipped such men as had been benefactors to the human race. Nevertheless Mr. Fell^x, (incredible as it may seem!) suppressing that part of it which asserts the deification of men, (though he quotes the words that

* Some render, φυσικας δε ηλιον και σεληνην — θεους μονους εγνωσκον, “ but the sun, moon, and planets, and
 “ other things like these, they acknowledged as the
 “ only *physical* or *natural* gods.” But Eusebius himself, p. 28. A, after enumerating the same physical gods of the Phenicians, says, that their *first naturalists* θεους μονον εγνωσκον, *acknowledged these alone to be gods.*

† Ως αυτοις τες μιν θνητους, τες δε αθανατους, θεους ειναι.

^u P. 173. note ^f, p. 179. note ^t. ^w P. 187.

^x P. 30, 31.

immediately

immediately precede it^r,) and setting before his readers that part only which relates to the natural gods, represents the latter as such a contradiction to my assertions respecting the more immediate objects of heathen worship, that he professes to be at a loss *what apology to make for me*, and describes me as a person with whom *it is in vain to reason*. Can this writer make any apology for his own conduct? He falsely charges me with gross self-contradiction, in a case in which there would not have appeared even a shadow of it, had he had the honesty to lay before his readers both the extracts from Philo Byblius; which, taken together, instead of contradicting, do in the fullest manner establish, what I had asserted concerning the heathen gods. I appeal to every candid reader.

Is it not evident, from the foregoing testimony of Sanchoniathon, that, in the opinion of the Phenicians, particu-

^r Comp. Dissert. on Mir. p. 187. Fell, p. 31.

larly of their first naturalists^z, physical beings were the only gods; that is, in their own natural right^a? And is it not equally evident, from the same testimony, that the Phenicians worshipped human spirits *as gods*, even as their *greatest gods*, and with the most solemn devotion? To these their worship was more immediately directed, in their public temples; and, from these, their natural gods received their denomination. So that the worship of the latter must in a manner have been absorbed in that of the former, or both were worshipped together. He alone who was capable of appealing to Herodotus, to vouch for a fact which that historian contradicts, could be bold enough to tell the world, that the testimony of Sanchoniathon was a contradiction to my assertions, when that testimony does, in the clearest terms, confirm my opinion, and confute his. Had

^z Οἱ πρῶτοι φυσικοί, κ. τ. λ. Euseb. P. Ev. l. i. p. 38. A.

^a Compare what is observed above, from Mr. Sale, concerning the Arabians, p. 87.

he not been an entire stranger to Sanchoniathon, he must have known that his history was written with the express design of shewing, that, though the parts and elements of the world were the original gods of the Phenicians and other nations, yet that the public devotion was directly addressed to deified men and women^b. And Eusebius testifies, that, even to his time, these were the gods worshipped *by all people, and in all cities and countries*^c.

Mr. Fell affirms^d, *These* (the sun, moon, and the other natural gods) *were the Cabiri, or mighty gods of the eastern nations.* The gentleman here, as on other occasions, follows Dr. Blackwell^e. But the learned doctor's authority is of no weight, in a case of this kind, against the testimony of the ancients. The Ca-

^b See Sanchoniathon, apud Euseb. P. Ev. l. i. passim, or Eusebius's short account of him, p. 31. C.

^c Τὸς εἰσὶν καὶ νῦν θεοὶ παρὰ τοῖς πασι νενομισμένοις κατὰ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς χώρας. Id. ib.

^d P. 10.

^e Mythol. p. 277.

biri, or potent gods of the Phenicians, were, according to Sanchoniathon, eight in number, and no other than men deified after death. *From Sydic descended the Dioscuri, or Cabiri, or Corybantes, or Samothracian deities*^f. These, he adds, first invented the building of a ship. The Egyptian priests seem to have envied Phenicia the honour of having given birth to these famous deities, (whose rites were so sacred and mysterious, and so generally observed,) and claimed them as their own. For they said ~~Herodotus~~^g, that the Cabiri^h were the sons of Vulcan, ~~the oldest of their gods~~. I will not enter into this dispute; but must observe, that, though the Phenician *Cabirs* are allegorized by many ancient as well as modern writersⁱ, yet were they

^f Εκ δὲ τοῦ Συδικ, Διοσκυροί, ἡ Καβειροί, ἡ Κορυβαντες, ἡ Σαμοθρακες. Euseb. Præp. Evan. l. 1. p. 36. A. See p. 39. B. C.

^g L. 3. c. 37.

^h See Hesych. in voce.

ⁱ Letters on Mythol. p. 278. Jablonki, Pantheon Ægypt. tom. 2. Prolegom. p. 61. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 42.

real human personages, and worshipped as such by the people. The son of Thabion is said to be the first who turned their history into allegory^k.

It will be proper to take notice of some other Phenician deities, who were certainly of human extract. Sanchoniaton^l makes mention of *Chryſor*, (said to be the same with Vulcan,) as one who, for his useful inventions, was, after his decease, worshipped as a god: of *Agrotes*, who, for a like reason, was honoured with a statue and temple, and was eminently called *the greatest of the gods*^m: of *Dagon*, who, having discovered bread-corn and the plough, was called Jupiter Aratriusⁿ: of *Taautus*, (called by the Alexandrians *Thoyth*, and by the Greeks *Hermes*,) the son of Misor, and the inventor of letters^o: of *Elioun*

^k Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. p. 39.

^l Apud Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 35. ^m Id. ib.

ⁿ Id. p. 37. D. Hence Dagon was called Σιτρον, that is, frumenti præfes, as it is explained by the editor of Eusebius, p. 36. C.

^o Id. p. 36. A.

or *Hyppistus*, to whom, after his death, his children offered sacrifices and libations^p: of *Ouranus*, from whom the element over us, by reason of it's excellent beauty, is called *Ouranus* or heaven^q: and of *Gee*, from whom earth took it's name^r. *Ouranus* had, by his sister *Gee*, *Chronos*, who founded *Byblus*, and after his death was consecrated into the planet called, after his name, *Chronos*, or *Saturn*^s. Many more examples of the same kind might be produced from *Sanchoniathon*; but I shall take notice only of two, *Astarte* and *Hercules*.

The celebrated *Astarte*, according to this author^t, was the daughter of *Ouranus*. She is called *the greatest goddess*^u, and was the same with *Aphrodite*, or *Ve-*

^p *Ib.* ^q P. 36. B.

^r Concerning the deification of *Ouranus* and *Gee*, see *Diodorus Siculus*, l. 3. p. 224, 225. ed. *Wesseling*. and *Lactantius*, de *Fals. Relig.* l. 1. p. 52, 53. *Gee* seems to answer to *Herthum*, spoken of above, p. 44.

^s *Euseb.* P. E. p. 40. C. p. 156. D.

^t *Id.* p. 37.

^u *Sanchon.* ap. *Euseb.* P. E. l. 1. p. 38. C.

nus, according to the Phenicians^w. Plato also calls her *the ancient and celestial Venus*; and speaks of her, as Sanchoniathon does, as the daughter of Uranus^x. In Cicero likewise the Syrian Venus is called Astarte^y. She was worshipped by the Arabians, Persians, Assyrians, and Syrians; and held in peculiar veneration at Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus^z. This female deity reigned in Phenicia^a, and was thought to be worshipped by the Sidonians and Carthaginians under the name of Juno^b.

^w Την δε Ασαστην Φοινικες την Αφροδιτην ειναι λεγουσι. Id. p. 38. C, D. Suidas says, that Astarte was called Venus by the Greeks.

^x Plato, Sympos. p. 180. ed. Serran.

^y De Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 23. Venus quarta, Syria Tyroque concepta, quæ Astarte vocatur. — Compare Herodot. l. 1. c. 105, 131. and what was observed above concerning Urania, p. 68-71. — See Herodian, l. 5. c. 15. p. 193.

^z Herodot. l. 1. c. 105, 131. — Lucian. de Dea Syr. p. 657, 658.

^a Phenicia was called *the land of Venus*. Æschyl. Supplices, v. 563.

^b Virgil. Æn. I. 446.

With

With regard to the Phenician Hercules of Tyre, where he had a temple^c erected to him, he was the son of Demaroon, and was by the Phenicians called Melcarthus*. He is thought by some to be the oldest of all the great heroes of the name of Hercules. His temple at Tyre was said to be as old as the city^d. In the same city there was a temple dedicated to Hercules under the title of *Thasian*^d.

The reader must have observed, that several of the foregoing proofs of the Phenicians paying religious worship to human spirits are furnished by the Greek writers ; though we have been told^e, that the Greeks have, *without doubt*, declared the contrary. In confirmation of what has been urged, I must observe, that the cruel custom of offering human sacrifices was practised in Phenicia more frequently, and with circumstances of

^c Herodot. l. 2. c. 44.

* Euseb. P. E. p. 38. A. He was also called *Malic*, or king. Hefych.

^d Id. ib.

^e Fell, p. 31.

greater

greater barbarity, than in any other country. A colony of Phenicians, settled at Carthage, when first transplanted, sacrificed to Saturn (whom we have spoken of before) the sons of their most eminent citizens; though, in after-times, the children of the poor, bought and bred up for that purpose, were substituted in their room^f. Two hundred sons of the nobility, together with three hundred other persons, have been offered up at one time^g. The circumstances attending these barbarous rites are preserved by Diodorus Siculus^h, but are too shocking to be recited. No wonder that a multitude of such sacrifices, equally impious and inhuman, should be spoken of in Scripture as the ground of God's singular displeasure against the Canaanites, and of his purpose to extirpate them. But they are taken notice of here, because they furnish a proof, (as will be shewn hereafter,) that the Chro-

^f Diodor. Sic. l. 20. p. 415.^g Id. p. 415, 416.^h P. 416. ed. Weff.

nus or Saturn, to whom they were offered, was the same deified monarch of Phenicia who sacrificed his own son*.

S E C T. II.

LET us proceed to inquire, whether heroes and gods of earthly origin were worshipped by the EGYPTIANS.

We are now entering on a subject of singular importance. Whether Egypt derived it's religion from the eastern nations, as someⁱ contend; or whether, as others assert^k, the eastern nations derived their religion from Egypt; on either supposition, both religions were formed upon the same model, and there must

* Euseb. P. E. p. 38.

ⁱ The eastern writers.

^k Lucian ascribes to the Egyptians the first knowledge of the gods, and of their rites of worship; and says, it was derived from them to the Assyrians. *De Syria Dea*, p. 656, 657. tom. 2. — Eusebius affirms, that the polytheism of the nations had it's first rise in Phenicia and Egypt, and was from thence propagated into other countries, and Greece in particular. *Præp. Ev.* l. 1. p. 30. C. D.

have

have been a great resemblance between them. As to the western nations, particularly Greece and Italy, it is allowed by all, that they received their theology from Egypt and the east. The religion, therefore, of all the nations polished by learning must have been the same, in all it's essential principles ; and a knowledge of the gods of any one of them will assist us in forming our judgement concerning those of the others. But Egypt demands our particular attention, as well on account of her high reputation and extensive influence amongst the ancient nations, as of the full information we have concerning her objects of worship. The theology of Egypt is indeed the key to that of all the other countries here spoken of. Not to add, that those writers, who seem disposed to resolve the great gods of the Heathens into a *physical system*, derive their chief arguments from the accounts which are given us of the Egyptian divinities. They will by no means allow, that such gods as had

once been men were ever worshipped in Egypt, whatever might be the case in other countries.

There are, however, many presumptive proofs of the contrary. Those nations which derived their theology from Egypt (Greece, in particular, which borrowed from it the very *names*¹ of their gods) did certainly worship human spirits. Is it unnatural to conclude, from hence, that the Egyptians did the same? — They were the first who erected *images*^m in honour of the gods : and were not images in human form representations of human beings? — They are said to be the first who held the immortality of the soul of man, which they explained

¹ Herodot. l. 2. c. 50.

^m Id. l. 2. c. 4. — Plato affirms, that the Egyptians had sculpture for ten thousand years before his time. De Leg. l. 2. p. 656. ed. Serrani. And, though Lucian thought that their most ancient temples were without images, yet he allows, that afterwards the Assyrians, who derived their theology from Egypt, placed images in their temples. De Dea Syr. p. 657.

by it's transmigration^a : principles that either lay at the foundation of it's future association with the gods, or that were intimately connected with it^o. — According to Diodorus Siculus, they worshipped their kings, while on^p earth, as real gods. Cleopatra claimed to be

^a Herodot. l. 2. c. 123.

^o So closely connected, in the idea of many of the ancients, were the immortality of the soul, and it's future deification or association with the gods, that Herodotus describes the Getes, becoming companions of Zalmoxis, by saying, *they immortalized* : Ἀθάνατιζουσι δὲ τὸν δὲ τὸν τροπον. L. 4. c. 94. Immortality seems to have been used almost as synonymous to deification in Diodorus Siculus, lib. 3. p. 243. lin. 4. ed. West. and also in p. 24. lin. 10. (which will be cited in the sequel,) and in many other writers. As to the doctrine of transmigration, it led them to believe, that the same god might be often born ; as appears from the claim of Cleopatra and others.

^p Ως πρὸς ἀληθεῖαν οὐτως δεῖς. L. 1. p. 101. — The same thing is plainly intimated in the following lines of Virgil, Georg. IV. 210.

Præterea regem non sic Ægyptus, et ingens
Lydia, nec populi Parthorum, aut Indus Hydaspes,
Observant. —

Isis^a herself, one of the principal objects of their devotion.

If you ask, how is it possible that a nation, wise and learned as the Egyptians, should worship dead men and women? I answer, that, inasmuch as all allow, and cannot but allow, that they acknowledged gods whom they fed in the stall, nay, that grew in their gardens, why should it be thought incredible that they should deify beings of a more noble nature than brutes and vegetables? Besides, it will be proved hereafter^r, that the reason why brutes were worshipped was the notion of their being animated by the souls of departed men. The foregoing considerations may at least prepare us to receive the positive proofs, which I shall now produce, of the worship of human spirits in Egypt.

^a Cleopatra sibi tantum adsumserat, ut se Isin vellet videri. Servius, in *Æn.* VIII. 696.

^r See also above, p. 125, note ^s.

1. *Hermes Trismegistus*^b acknowledged, that the gods of Egypt were dead men; that the art of making gods was invented in this country; and that human souls were worshipped as demons in every city. Amongst the human personages consecrated into gods, Trismegistus specifies, 'Æsculapius, Isis, and the elder Hermes, or Mercury; three of the most celebrated divinities of Egypt. The

^a Hermes ipse — deos Ægypti homines mortuos esse testatur. Cum enim dixisset proavos suos — invenisse artem qua efficerent deos. — Terrenis diis atque mundanis facile est irasci; utpote qui sint ab hominibus ex utraque natura facti atque compositi. Ex utraque natura dicit, ex anima et corpore: ut pro anima sit dæmon, pro corpore simulachrum. Unde contigit, inquit, ab Ægyptiis hæc sancta animalia nuncupari, colique per singulas civitates eorum animas, &c. August. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26. p. 513, 514.

^c Ecce duos deos dicit homines fuisse, Æsculapium et Mercurium. — Addit, et dicit, Isin vero uxorem (Osiridis), quam multa bona præstare propitiam, quantis scimus obesse iratam? Deinde ut ostenderet ex hoc genere esse deos, quos illa arte homines faciunt: unde dat intelligi *dæmones* se opinari ex hominum mortuorum animis extitisse. Id. p. 513.

last he calls his own grandfather, after whom ~~name~~ he was **denominated**.*

2. The testimony of *Sanchoiathon* was produced above"; and we have seen him affirming, that the Egyptians, as well as the Phenicians, accounted those *the greatest gods*, who had been eminent benefactors to mankind.

3. My next appeal shall be to *Herodotus*, who had visited Egypt, and spared no pains to inform himself concerning the religion of that country. The very ingenious Dr. Blackwell", and a foreigner* of distinguished learning, would willingly infer, from a passage in this historian, that the Egyptians *paid no religious honours to heroes*†. They seem, however, to have mistaken the meaning of their author, by not attending to the connexion of the passage in question with the preceding context. Herodotus

* Id. ib. " P. 135.

" In Letters on Mythol. p. 209.

* Jablonski, Pantheon Ægypt. tom. 2. Prolegom. p. 37.

† Νομιζουσι δ' ον Αιγυπτιοι εδ' ηρωσι εδαν. L. 2. c. 50.

is speaking of Neptune, and shewing that the Greeks learnt the name of this god from the Libyans, not from the Egyptians; who, as this historian elsewhere ^z informs us, affirmed, that they did not know the name of Neptune, nor ever received him into the number of their gods. Concerning Neptune alone Herodotus speaks, when he says, the Egyptians *did not honour him at all*, as Gale renders the original ^a. But it is very probable, that the text is corrupted, and that the true reading makes no mention of heroes, and only imports, that *they do not sacrifice* ^b to him (Neptune); that is, the Egyptians did neither acknowledge his divinity, nor pay him any worship. Indeed the occasion did not lead Herodotus to speak about *heroes*; for Neptune was advanced by the Libyans to the higher rank of gods,

^z L. 2. c. 43.

^a Οὐδ' ἡρώων εἰδεν, nullo honore prosequuntur.

^b Some copies read, οὐ δὲ δρώων εἰδεν. Variantes Lectiones ad librum ii. Herodot. p. 10. curâ Galei.

though

though originally a mere mortal. Nor was it possible for the historian to affirm, that the Egyptians paid no religious honours to the souls of dead men, without grossly contradicting himself. For,

I shall now proceed to prove, from the testimony of this inquisitive traveller, that human souls were worshipped in Egypt. He affirms, that, at Chemmis^c, in the province of Thebes, Perseus, the son of Danae, had a temple^c dedicated to him, in which his image was placed; and that he was said by the inhabitants frequently to appear rising out of the earth^d. The priests informed him, that king Proteus, a native of Memphis, was honoured with a stately temple in that city^e. In this temple there was a chapel dedicated to Venus the Stranger, whom he supposed to be Helena, the daughter of Tyndarus^f. Mars, who re-

^c Εν ταυτη τη πολι εστι Περσεος τῷ Δαναῶνι ἱερὸν. Herodot. l. 2. c. 91.

^d Ib.

^e Id. c. 112, 118, 119.

^f Cap. 112, 113. Strabo refers to this Venus, l. 17. p. 1161.

turned

turned to his mother when he attained to the age of man^g, was worshipped at Pampremis^h. And Hercules (of whom farther mention will be made) had a temple near the Canopian mouth of the river Nile, which, Herodotus says, remained to his timeⁱ. These instances of the worship of human spirits in Egypt, recorded by Herodotus, were certainly overlooked by those writers who affirmed, upon the supposed authority of this historian, that the Egyptians paid no religious honours to any gods of earthly extract.

But we may advance farther, and observe, that Herodotus has recorded several facts, which serve to shew, that some at least of all the different orders of Egyptian gods were no other than men and women deified. He makes Latona, who resided in Butus, one of the *eight* primary deities of Egypt^k. Ac-

^g Cap. 64.^h Cap. 59.ⁱ Cap. 113.

^k Λητώ εἶσα τῶν οὐκτώ θεῶν τῶν πρῶτων γενομένων, οἰκεῖσα δὲ ἐν Βούτῃ πόλει. L. 2. c. 156.

ording

according to our author, Pan also was reckoned in this number by the Mendefians ¹, and was confidered by fome as the oldeft of the eight primary gods ^m. Now, Pan, as we learn from history ⁿ, accompanied Ofiris in his fuccefsful expedition to the Indies. We are farther told by Herodotus, that the Cabiri were faid to be defcended from Vulcan ^{*}: and that, when the Egyptians added four more gods to the eight juft now fpoken of, Hercules made one of the *twelve* ^o, whom the hiftorian confiders as a man; as will be fhewn in the fequel. He likewife makes mention of a *third* order of gods, to which Bacchus belonged, as Hercules did to the fecond, and Pan to the firft ^p. Now, Bacchus, we have feen, was educated in Arabia ^q.

But it is objected, that, according to Herodotus, the priefts of Egypt affirmed, that, in eleven thoufand three hun-

¹ Cap. 46.

^m Cap. 145.

ⁿ Diodor. Sic. p. 21. Weft.

^{*} Above, p. 140.

^o Herodot. l. 2. c. 43, 145.

^p Cap. 145.

^q Above, p. 85.

dred and forty years, *there had been no god in the form of a man*^r : — that, according to the same author^s, the priests of Jupiter at Thebes would by no means allow, *that a man could be begotten by a god*, or that any one *Piromis*^t had been reputed either *a god or a hero* : — and that the Theban priests farther affirmed, that in the most ancient times *the gods had been the sovereigns of Egypt*, the last of whom was Orus, the son of Osiris^u. From these circumstances a learned writer^w concludes, that the Egyptians were strangers to the deification of men.

In answer to this objection, it may be observed, 1st. That, in reading Herodotus, we are carefully to distinguish between the facts which he affirms, or appears to credit, and those which he professedly reports upon the testimony of others. He himself has often pointed

^r Lib. 2. c. 142.

^s Cap. 143, 144.

^t *Piromis* answers to καλος κ' αγαθος, according to Herodotus.

^u Cap. 144. ^w Jablonki, tom. 2. Prolegom. p. 37.

out this distinction, particularly in the following passage: *I am obliged to relate what is said, but I am not obliged to believe every thing without distinction; and I desire that this declaration may be attended to through the ^x course of my history.* Now, Herodotus does not affirm the truth of any one of the particulars which form the objection we are considering, but professedly speaks of them as reports he received from the priests ^y. His authority therefore is improperly urged to prove, that the Egyptians did not worship mortal divinities. He knew the contrary to be true ^z.

^x Herodot. l. 7. c. 152.

^y Herodotus does not, I allow, openly contradict these reports; nor was he at liberty to do it, if he was initiated into the mysteries, as he probably was. With what reserve he speaks of the gods, may be seen by consulting lib. 2. c. 3, 45, 65, 71.

^z See above, p. 154, 155, 156, and what is said concerning Hercules below. He seems to have had no conception that there was any essential difference between the Egyptians and the generality of mankind respecting the gods, but *supposed all men thought alike concerning them*: Νομίζων πάντα; ἀνθρώπους ἴσων περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστάσθαι. L. 2. c. 3.

2dly. As to the priests of Egypt, it may be presumed, that they, like other heathen priests, discouraged all free inquiry concerning the gods^a: they might be instructed not to speak openly of the earthly origin of Serapis, Isis^b, and others; and, as their gods had been their kings, they might pretend that their kings were gods; and thus involve the subject in obscurity. Nevertheless, the priests themselves could not but acknowledge, that they had gods of mortal origin. This appears from the facts recited by Herodotus, upon their authority.

4. We must not pass over the account given of the gods of Egypt by *Manetho*, because it is supposed to militate against

^a It seems to have been a maxim with the devout Pagans: — Sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire. Tacit. Mor. Germ. c. 34.

^b Quoniam fere in omnibus templis, ubi colebatur Isis et Serapis, erat etiam simulachrum, quod digito labiis impresso admonere videretur, ut silentium fieret: hoc significare idem Varro existimat, ut homines eos fuisse taceretur. August. Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 5.

that

that which I have attempted to support. Manetho was chief-priest of Egypt in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and has given ^c us a table of the gods and demi-gods who reigned there before those kings who were mere mortals ; of whom, we are told, Menes was the first ^d : and from hence some have argued, that the Egyptians did not deify mere mortals. But the argument is inconclusive : For it would not follow, from their having had, in the most ancient times, gods for their kings, that they did not afterwards exalt their kings into gods. As to the fact itself, the pretended reign of the gods, it is needless to point out the absurdity of it, or to discredit the authority by which it is supported. What reduces it nearest to the standard of truth, is, the conjecture of a learned

^c See Manetho, apud Syncell. p. 18. and Euseb. Chron. Græc. p. 7. Compare the *Old Chronicle* current amongst the Egyptians, an imperfect copy of which is preserved by Syncellus, Chronograph. p. 51, 52.

^d Herodot. l. 2. c. 4, 99.

writer^e, that, by the *gods*, we may understand some of the antediluvians ; and, by the *demi-gods*, the ancestors of the Egyptians after the flood down to the time of Menes.

5. Whatever judgement we may form of the fragments of Manetho, yet there can be no objection against the testimony of *Diodorus Siculus* concerning the gods of Egypt. He lived in an age when many had courage to inquire into the grounds of the public religion, and to speak with freedom upon the subject. From this excellent writer we learn, that the Egyptians, besides the sun and moon, whom they called the *first* and *eternal gods*^f, acknowledged such as *were taken from the earth* ; several of whom, he says, *had been kings of Egypt, and bore the same*

^e Jac. Perizon. *Ægypt. Origin.* tom. 1. p. 84.

^f Τῆς δ' ἐν κατ' Αἰγυπτὸν ἀνθρώπους το παλαιὸν γενομένης, ἀναβλέψαντας εἰς τὸν κόσμον, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὁλῶν φύσιν καταπλάγεντας καὶ θαυμάσαντας, ὑπολαβεῖν εἶναι δύο θεῶς αἰδίας τε καὶ πρώτης, τὸν τε ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην. *Diodor. Sic.* p. 14. Well.

names with the celestial gods ^z. He particularly specifies the eight great gods of Egypt ^h, *Sol*, *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter*, (called also *Ammon* ¹), *Juno*, *Vulcan*, *Vesta*, and *Mercury* ^k. He adds, that *Sol*, whose name was the same with the sun in the firmament, was the first king of Egypt; though some thought the first king of that country to be *Vulcan*, the inventor of fire, or of the first use of it in working metals ^l. *Saturn* and *Rhea*, according to the same author, reigned afterwards; of whom (it was generally said) were born *Jupiter* and *Juno*, from whom sprang the five following gods, *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Typhon*, *Apollo* ^m, and *Venus*.

Ἔ ΑΛΛΗΣ δ' ἐκ τῶτων ἐπιγίγες γενεσθαι φασιν, υπαρχάντας
 μὲν θνητῶς, ——— ὡν ἐνιῶς καὶ βασιλεῖς γεγενῆσθαι κατὰ τὴν Αἰ-
 γυπτὸν. ——— Τίνας μὲν οὐμῶνυμῶς υπαρχεῖν τοῖς θραῖοις.
 Id. p. 17. Compare Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 45.

^h Id. ib.

¹ Herodotus also (l. 2. c. 42.) says, Ἀμμὸν Αἰγυπτίους
 καλεῖσθαι τὸν Δία.

^k He was secretary to *Osiris*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 1.
 p. 19, 20, 24.

^l Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 390.

^m The same as *Orus*. Herodot. l. 2. c. 144.

Osiris

Osiris and Isis were the two principal ^a divinities of Egypt, in the manner of whose worship all the provinces of that country were agreed ^o. Now, Diodorus informs us, that Isis and Osiris (who, as we have seen, were born of the same parents) were king and queen of Egypt; that Osiris conquered the most distant nations ^p; that he deified his parents ^q, and was himself deified in his

^a Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 355. E. says, that, as soon as Osiris was born, a voice accompanied him, and proclaimed him, *παντων κυριος*, *lord of all things*. He was said to be the same as Bacchus. Herodot. l. 2. c. 42, 144. Diodorus Siculus, l. 1. p. 17. ed. West. Plutarch makes Bacchus a different person from Osiris, but speaks of him as one who had been a man. Dissert. on Mir. p. 182. As to Isis, Herodotus, l. 2. c. 40. tells us, that *she is the goddess they* (the Egyptians) *esteem the greatest*. She was the same with Ceres, according to the Egyptians, (Herodot. l. 2. c. 59. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 17.) who say, *she first invented bread-corn*. Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 17, 18. West. Aug. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 27.

^o Herodot. l. 2. c. 42.

^p Lib. 1. p. 32. Compare Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 2. c. 1.

^q Diodor. Sic. p. 24, 25. Vide August. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 27.

turn, and a third part of the lands appropriated to maintain his worship^r; and that after his death he received equal honour with that paid to the celestial gods^s.

He very justly explodes the fable concerning the reign of gods and heroes in Egypt, and speaks of it as countenanced only by a part of the Egyptians^t. And, when he is treating concerning several of their great gods, he says, “ the priests
 “ had perfect information concerning
 “ their *interment*, which they concealed
 “ from the public, because it was con-
 “ fided to them as a secret, and it was
 “ dangerous to divulge any secret re-
 “ specting the gods”^u.

6. Amongst

^r Diodor. Sic. p. 24, 25.

^s Δια το μεγαδος των ευεργεσιων συμπεφονημενων λαβειν παρα πασι την αθανασιαν, και την ισην τοις θρανιοις τιμην, κ. τ. λ.

Diodor. Sic. p. 24.

^t Μυθολογουσι δ' αυτων τινες το μεν πρωτον αρχαι της Αιγυπτου θεος τε και ηρωας, κ. τ. λ. Id. p. 53.

^u Τα μεν εν περι της ταφης των θεων τωτων διαφωνειται παρα τοις πλειοις, δια το τως ιερεις, εν απορητοις παρεληφotas την
 περι

6. Amongst all the ancient writers, who have given us an account of the religion of Egypt, there is not one who had studied the subject with more attention, or who was more zealous to give his readers a favourable impression of it, than *Plutarch*. His learned treatise, entitled, *Isis and Osiris*, was written on purpose to shew, that there was nothing absurd or extravagant in the religious rites of the Egyptians; some instruction in history, morals, or philosophy, being couched under them^w. Nevertheless, from *Plutarch* we learn, that the *priests* affirmed, that the bodies of their gods, except such as were incorruptible and immortal, lay buried with them^x.

M 3

As

περι τῶν ἀκριβείων, μὴ βυλεσθαι τ' ἀληθεὺς ἐκφέρειν εἰς τὴς πολλὰς, ὡς ἀν καὶ κινδύων ἐπικειμένων τοῖς τ' ἀπορητὰ περὶ τῶν θεῶν τῶν μινυσασιν εἰς τὴς οὐχλῆς. Id. p. 32.

^w *Is. et Osir.* p. 353. E.

^x *Plutarch*, having spoken of the tomb of *Osiris*, and alluded to some other gods, adds: Οὐ μόνον δὲ τῶν οἰεῖσιν λεγῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν θεῶν, οἱ μὴ ἀγνητοὶ μὴδ' ἀφθαρτοὶ, τὰ μὲν σώματα παρ' αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι καμόντα καὶ διατριβεσθαι. *De Is. et Osir.* p. 359. C. Nevertheless,

As to *Isis* and *Osiris* in particular, Plutarch gives us at large the history of their parentage, their births, their kindred, their exploits, their deaths^y. He allegorizes some part of their history, and seems to think there was a hidden meaning in the whole of it, agreeably to the main design of his work, which was to reconcile the Egyptian theology with the principles of reason; yet their history was understood literally by the people; nor was it lawful to divulge the philosophical explication of it^z. Agreeably to the representation Plutarch makes of *Osiris* as a man, he tells us, that *he was every where worshipped under a human form*^a. With respect to *Hermes*, *Typhon*,

theless, Mr. Fell, in the stile of a person well acquainted with Plutarch, says, p. 83. that *Plutarch was very careful never to attribute this opinion* (viz. that the gods of Egypt had been men) *to the Egyptian priests*.

^y As to the place of *Osiris*'s burial, see Plutarch de *Is. et Osir.* p. 359.

^z Id. ib. p. 360. E. F.

^a Πανταχϋ ανθρωπομορφον Οσιριδος αγαλμα δεικνυσθαι. Plutarch, de *Is. et Osir.* p. 371.

(the

(the brother of Osiris, whom he slew^b), and Orus, as well as *Osiris*, Plutarch acknowledges, that the description, given by the Egyptians, of the figure and colour of their bodies, plainly supposed they had been mere men^c. Concerning Isis and Osiris, he says, *they were, for their virtue, changed from good demons into gods, as were Hercules and Bacchus afterwards, receiving the united honours both of gods and demons*^d.

It would be endless to produce all the proofs of the worship of human spirits, in Egypt, from heathen writers who only occasionally make mention of the gods of that country. *Plato* speaks of *Theuth*, who flourished in the reign of *Thamus*, king of Egypt, as one of the an-

^b Diodor. Sic. p. 24.

^c Ως τη φύσει γεγονότας ἀνθρώπους. Plutarch. Is. et Osir. p. 359. E. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 3. c. 91.

^d Plutarch. de Is. et Osir. p. 361. Dissert. on Mir. p. 182. I might add, that Venus Belesica, the slave of an Egyptian monarch, had a temple erected to her at Alexandria. Plutarch. in Erotico, p. 753. E. F.

cient gods^e. *Lucian* represents *Alexander*, after he was dead, as hoping to be buried in Egypt, *that he might become one of the gods of that country*^f. In Egypt, says *Maximus Tyrius*, they shew you at once the temple of a god and his tomb^g. The Latin writers speak the same language. *Varro*^h considered *Isis* and *Serapis* as having once belonged to the human race. *Apuleius* ranks *Osiris* amongst those men who were raised to the rank of godsⁱ. *Lucan* goes farther, and urges the mournful or funeral rites, with which *Osiris* was honoured by the Egyptians, as *their* testimony to his having been a mortal

^e ΗΚΑΘΑ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΝ, ΠΕΡΙ ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΗΣ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΕΙ ΠΑΛΑΙΩΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΘΕΩΝ, κ. τ. λ. *Platonis Phædrus*, p. 274. c. ed. *Serrani*. *Theuth* is said, in the sequel, to have invented arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and letters. See what is said above concerning *Mercury*, p. 111. and p. 141.

^f Ως ΓΕΝΟΙΜΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ. *Lucian*. *Dialog. Mort.* p. 291.

^g ΔΕΙΚΝΥΝΤΑΙ ΠΑΡ' ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΙΕΡΟΝ ΘΕΩ, ΚΑΙ ΤΑΦΟΣ ΘΕΩ. *Maximus Tyrius*, *Dissert.* 38. p. 398.

^h Cited above, p. 159. note ^b.

ⁱ Above, p. 97. note ^b.

man. His argument proves, that he was publicly worshipped under that very character ^k.

I would here close the evidence of the worship of human spirits in Egypt, if it were not necessary to consider the character of the Egyptian Hercules; which I did not enter upon sooner, because the proofs of his having been a man are furnished, not by one only, but by several of the forementioned writers. Herodotus ^l, in order to shew that the

^k Tu plangens hominem testaris Osirin.

Lucan. VIII. 833.

This passage, and others to the same purpose, were cited in the Dissertation on Mir. p. 194. 182. Lucan's judgement of Osiris has also been confirmed here by fresh testimonies. Nevertheless Mr. Fell is pleased to say, p. 24. "It is not in my power to prove, that religious honours were ever paid to any deceased man under the name of Osiris." This language implies, that no proof of this point had been produced in the Dissertation; — that no proof of it could be produced; — and that Mr. Fell's knowledge of antiquity rendered him a competent judge of what could or could not be proved concerning Osiris. I leave the reader to form his own judgement concerning these three propositions.

^l Lib. 2. c. 43, 44.

Grecians borrowed the name of this god from the Egyptians, and not the Egyptians from the Grecians, observes, that Hercules was one of the ancient gods of the Egyptians ; who said, that, seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis, the number of their gods, which had been eight, was increased to twelve ; and that Hercules was one of these. He farther informs us, that there was a temple dedicated to Hercules at Tyre, which was said to have been built two thousand three hundred years ; and that, in the same city, there was a temple erected to Hercules under the name of *Thasian* ; and that the same god had a temple at Thafus, which was built by the Phenicians five generations before the public appearance of Hercules in Greece. Now, what is the inference which Herodotus draws from these premises ? Why, *that Hercules* (meaning the Egyptian) *was a very ancient god*^m ;

^m Τα μὲν νῦν ἰσχυόμενα ὄηλοι σαφὲς παλαιὸν θεὸν τὸν Ἡρακλέα εἶναι. Lib. 2. c. 44. Herodotus makes mention of a *statue* of the Egyptian Hercules, c. 42.

that

that is, in comparison with the Grecian. He describes the latter as the son of Amphitryon and Alcmena; and says, that both his parents were of Egyptian descent". Now, if he knew that the Grecian Hercules was a man, he certainly believed the Egyptian to be so too. Why, otherwise, did he compare their different ages together? Would he take pains to shew, that a natural, that is, an eternal^o, god was only some thousand years older than one who, comparatively speaking, was but lately born? Besides, according to Herodotus, there were eight gods in Egypt more ancient than Hercules. Nor does the historian ascribe to him any pre-eminence above the son of Amphitryon, except great seniority, and the higher rank to which he was exalted in consequence of it. For, from his greater antiquity, he

ⁿ Lib. 2. c. 43.

^o The ancients called the natural gods, *αἰδύς καὶ ἀφθάρτος*. Diodor, Siculus, *Fragmenta ex lib. vi.* p. 633. ed. Weff.

draws

draws this conclusion : therefore *those Greeks act right, who build temples to two of them, and sacrifice to one as an immortal god, under the name of Olympian, and honour the other as a hero*^p.

We have here, — says a late writer^q, *two gods of the same name ; the one a natural and immortal deity, stiled Olympian ; the other an hero-god, acknowledged to have been once a mortal man ; each having separate temples and distinct worship, agreeable to the supposed difference of their natures and characters.* The gentleman would not have reasoned in this manner, had he been acquainted with the sentiments of antiquity on these subjects, or had he only considered what was proved in the *Dissertation on Miracles*^r, and will be farther established in the sequel ; viz. that, according to the Heathens, some human souls commenced first heroes, and then demons, and were afterwards exalted into gods. Then they

^p Herodot. l. 2. c. 44.

^q Fell, p. 13.

^r P. 182, 183, 214.

were received into the starry heaven, or *ætherial*^s region, the seat of the *immortal* divinities, sometimes called *Olympus*^t. The Hercules who attained to this honour was, on this account, very properly stiled *Olympian*, to distinguish him from the other, while he had not yet risen above the rank of a hero, and, as such, resided in the regions of the *air*

^s Varro, l. 16. apud August. Civ. Dei, l. 7. c. 6. says: A summo circuitu cœli, usque ad circulum lunæ, æthereæ animæ sunt astra et stellæ; iique cœlestes dii non modo intelliguntur esse, sed etiam videntur. Inter lunæ vero gyrum, et nimborum ac ventorum cacumina, aereæ sunt animæ: sed eæ animo, non oculis, videntur; et vocantur heroes, et lares, et genii. So Lucan also, l. ix. v. 6. et seq.

Quodque patet terras inter, cœlique meatus,
Semidei manes habitant; quos ignea virtus
Innocuos vita, patientes ætheris imi,
Fecit, et æternos animam conlegit in orbes.

See below, note *.

^t Viam affectat Olympo. Virg. iv. 562. — Μοῦσες ὠνομασεν Ὀλυμπίους. Diodor. Sic. l. 4. p. 261. ed. West. Anubis, who accompanied Osiris in his expedition, (id. l. 1. p. 21.) clothed in a dog's skin, is represented by Plutarch as being both terrestrial and Olympic. If. et Osir. p. 368. E.

nearest

nearest to the stars. In length of time, the Grecian Hercules became a god, and was worshipped as such^u. The Roman writers expressly speak of Hercules as having been a man^w, and yet rank him amongst those who were received into the starry or ætherial heaven, and admitted into the community of the great gods^x. He is represented with Jupiter, on some old altars and relievos, with an inscription^y fully expressive of this dignity. In like manner, the Egyptian Hercules was ranked with the great gods, though he also was of human ex-

^u Pausanias, Corinthiac. l. 2. c. 10. p. 133. ed. Kuhnii.

^w The Roman law was: Eos, qui cœlestes semper habiti, colunto; et ollos quos endo cœlo merita collocaverunt, Herculem, &c. Cicero, de Legib. l. 2. c. 8. Laws of the 12 Tab. 2. sect. 4.

^x Post ingentia facta, deorum in templa recepti. Horat. Ep. l. 2. ep. 1. v. 7. Arces attigit igneas. Lib. 3. ode 3. v. 17. Hercules was one of the few, quos ardens evexit ad æthera virtus, as Virgil speaks, Æn. VI. 130. See Silius Italicus, l. 15. v. 83.

^y *Diis magnis, to the great gods.* Montfaucon, v. 1. p. 16, 47.

tract.

tract. The Olympian Jupiter himself had been a man².

It is only necessary to add farther, that the worship of heroes was different from that paid to such human souls as were advanced to a more sublime degree³; and therefore the separate temples and distinct worship of the Olympian, and of the hero, Hercules, are improperly urged as proofs of their being originally of different natures from one another. For, if the Hercules of Egypt, though not so old as some other gods of that country, was nevertheless much more ancient than the Hercules of Greece, and advanced to the dignity of the celestial gods, Herodotus, on the supposition that both of them had been men, would conclude that the former ought to be worshipped as an immortal or Olympian divinity, and the latter merely

² Diodor. Sic. l. 3. p. 229, 230.

³ See Pausanias, p. 133. Dissert. on Mir. p. 182, 183. — The subject will come under future consideration.

with

with the rites to which heroes were entitled before they became gods. According to Diodorus Siculus^b, the Egyptian Hercules was not only older than the Grecian, but even than any other; conquered a great part of the world, and set up pillars in Afric. He was general of the forces of Osiris^c. Plutarch makes mention of him amongst those who, after death, were changed from good demons into gods^d. But, though of human extract, Hercules was worshipped in Egypt with the most sacred and august ceremonies^e.

^b Lib. 3. p. 243.

^c Id. p. 20.

^d Differt. on Mir. p. 182. See Diodor. Sic. p. 5.

^e Deus Hercules religione quidem apud Tyron colitur: verum sacratissima et augustissima Egyptii religione venerantur, ultraque memoriam (quæ apud illos retro longissima est) ut carentem initio colunt. Macrobi. Saturn. l. 1. c. 20. — By Hercules we are to understand the sun, according to Macrobius; and this opinion has been adopted by some learned moderns. But the civil theology supposed the truth of the literal history, and was indeed built upon it. Several gods bore the name of Hercules, (Cicero, Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 16.) but they were represented to the people, and regarded by them, as having been men.

I shall produce no more heathen authorities in support of the point I undertook to establish. If we reject the foregoing account given of the gods of Egypt by the Roman, Greek^f, Phœnician, and Egyptian, writers, most of whom spoke from their own personal knowledge, it will be difficult to say on whose testimony we can safely rely.

Nor is there any reason to assert, as the learned Jablonksi^g does, that the Greeks, during the reign of Alexander's successors in Egypt, corrupted the religion of that country, and that later wri-

^f The Greek writers, whose testimony has been urged above, are Herodotus, Plato, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Lucian, and Maximus Tyrius. Mr. Fell must have been unacquainted with all these testimonies, (even with that of Diodorus Siculus, well known to every other writer upon this subject,) when he affirmed, p. 31. "There can be *no doubt* but that the Greeks themselves have declared, that the Egyptians never worshipped such gods as had been men." But this gentleman is often so unfortunate, as, in proof of his erroneous assertions, to appeal to those very authorities which contradict them. See above, p. 30, 136.

^g Prolegom. p. 42.

ters have misrepresented it. No proof of this assertion has been produced. The Egyptians, when under the dominion of the Ptolemys, might adopt new gods^h; but this was perfectly consistent with the general principles of the heathen religionⁱ. There is a perfect agreement between the accounts given of the Egyptian gods, by those writers who lived long before the age of the first Ptolemy, and by those who lived after it. Their having two classes of gods, one natural, the other mortal, is not more strongly asserted by Diodorus and Plutarch, than it is by Hermes Trismegistus and Sanchoniathon. And Herodotus, against

^h Macrobius thought this to be the case with respect to Saturn and Serapis. Saturnal. l. 1. c. 7. p. 150. ed. Londini, 1694. But his memory seems to have failed him here. Serapis was worshipped in Egypt long before the time of Ptolemy, who introduced his worship amongst the Athenians. See August. Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 5. and Pausanias, Attic. p. 42. ed. Kuhnii. Saturn was a god of great antiquity in Egypt and Phenicia.

ⁱ See what was said above concerning the Gauls, p. 113.

whose

whose testimony no objection is made, has recorded numerous examples of the worship of human spirits in Egypt, upon the authority of the priests themselves. But the objection must sink under its own weight: for, what Greece was to Rome, that Egypt was to Greece; — the revered source of science and religion. And it is as unreasonable to suppose, that the Greeks, during the reign of the Ptolemys, changed the religion of Egypt, as it would be to suppose, that the Romans changed the religion of Greece, after their conquest of that country, which was likely to produce a contrary effect^k. The Egyptians obstinately adhered even to those parts of their religion which gave most offence to foreign nations: I refer to their worship of brutes and vegetables, which they practised in a much higher degree than any other people.

The foregoing testimonies might be confirmed by arguments drawn from the

^k The Roman worship became gradually more and more conformable to the Grecian. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 2. c. 18, 19, 20.

religious rites ¹ of the Egyptians, from their mysteries, and pyramids ; and likewise from the opinion of the Fathers and other Christian writers ^m. But these arguments will come under future con-

¹ Particularly from human sacrifices. It must however be acknowledged, to the honour of the Egyptians, that such sacrifices were not so common amongst them as they were in other nations. Herodotus (l. 2. c. 45.) thought it improbable that they ever offered them : but his reason is not very conclusive. Macrobius (Saturnal. l. 1. c. 7. p. 150.) says, they did not offer any bloody sacrifice : but herein he contradicts Herodotus, ubi supra. Plutarch relates, (De Is. et Osir. p. 380.) upon the authority of Manetho, that men were burnt alive in the city of Elithya. And Diodorus Siculus (l. 1. p. 99. Weff.) mentions a very remarkable circumstance ; viz. that they were sacrificed at the tomb of Osiris : which shews to what gods such sacrifices were offered. Human sacrifices were abolished by Amosis. Porphyry, de Abstinenzia, l. 2. c. 223. ed. Lugdun. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 4. c. 16. p. 155. But they were revived by Busiris, to avert a national calamity. Apollodorus, Bibliothec. l. 2. p. 118, 119.

^m See, in particular, Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 6. p. 17. and l. 3. c. 3. August. de Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 5, 26. and l. 18. c. 5. Suidas (in voc. Σαραπης) says, that Apis was king of Memphis, and obtained, after death, divine honours for his liberality, in supplying the citizens of Alexandria with corn, in time of famine.

fideration.

sideration. If I take notice of the ancient Christians in this place, it is for the sake of clearing them from the charge of forgery : for, as a forgery of theirs, someⁿ consider the celebrated letter of Alexander to his mother ; in which he is said to have communicated to her the secret of the mysteries, intrusted to him by the high-priest of Egypt, concerning the human origin of the great gods. But, supposing the letter in question to be a forgery, there is no more reason for ascribing it to the Christians, than to those Heathens who openly asserted that their gods had once been men. It is not certain, however, that it was a forgery. Plutarch seems to refer to it when he says, Alexander informed his mother in a letter, “ that he had received
“ some secret answers, which, at his
“ return, he would communicate to her
“ only °.” The connexion of the place

ⁿ Jablonfki, p. 31.

° Plutarch. Vit. Alexandri, p. 688. F.

leads us to apply this to the origin of the gods : for Plutarch had been just before relating what the high-priest said to Alexander concerning his divine descent. As to it's being passed over in silence by Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, and some other heathen writers, (a circumstance on which great stress is ^p laid,) the reason of it plainly was, their having more authentic information concerning the great secret ^q of the mysteries than a private letter, the genuineness of which might be suspected, and the contents of which were probably preserved only by tradition, and therefore variously reported. The credit given to it by the Fathers ^r must be considered as a proof of *their opinion* concerning the gods of Egypt.

^p Jablonki, Prolegom. p. 32.

^q See Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 24. ed. Weff.

^r Athenag. Legat. pro Christian. p. 24. Minut. Felix, Octav. c. 21. August. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 5. and l. 12. c. 10. Cyprian. de Idol. Vanitat. p. 12. ed. Oxon.

From

From the various testimonies * which have been produced, in this and the preceding section, it appears, that both the Phenicians and Egyptians, though they acknowledged elementary and sidereal deities, and asserted more especially the divinity of the sun and moon, did also worship human spirits : and that the Egyptians worshipped them under the distinct characters of heroes, demons, and gods. — It farther appears, that both the Phenicians and Egyptians accounted their princes and eminent benefactors as *the greatest gods*. The twelve great gods of Egypt in particular, as well as the Cabirs of Phenicia and the eastern nations, were dead men deified. — Lastly,

* Mr. Fell affirms, p. 22, 83. that “ it is UNIVER-
“ SALLY KNOWN, that the Egyptians — never paid
“ any religious honours to hero-gods.” The reader
may from hence judge how great a stranger the gentleman was to the Roman, the Greek, the Phenician, ~~and~~
~~the Egyptian~~, writers, and also to the Fathers. His
ignorance of antiquity, both heathen and christian,
would not have been noticed, had it not been proper
that it should be known what credit is due to his most
confident assertions.

the foregoing testimonies prove, that deified men were the *immediate* objects of the public established worship in Egypt, as they also were in Phenicia.

I am, however, far from denying, that, in the history and worship of these terrestrial gods, there was an ultimate reference to the deified parts and powers of nature. And it is certain, that the civil or vulgar theology was explained *physically* by the learned. But with their explanations we have here no concern; and therefore I pass over at present what occurs upon this subject in Plutarch, Porphyry, Jamblichus, Macrobius, and other heathen writers.

S E C T. III.

I Proceed to shew, that the custom of deifying human spirits prevailed amongst the ASSYRIANS, CHALDEANS, and BABYLONIANS.

Very little is known of the religion of Assyria, considered as a kingdom distinct from

from that of Babylon. Both kingdoms were afterwards united into one mighty empire, which was called indifferently Assyrian and Babylonian". The Chaldeans in Babylon, according to Diodorus Siculus, were a colony of Egyptians", carried there by Belus, the son of Neptune and Libya, who granted the priests the same immunities as were enjoyed by those in Egypt*. This agrees with what Lucian testifies^y, that the Assyrians derived their theology and religious rites from the Egyptians, and in honour of the gods erected temples, and placed in them statues and images (proper representations of such gods as had been men). Now, if the religion of Assyria and Babylon was derived from

" The Assyrians and Babylonians are the same people. Herodot. l. 1. c. 199, 200. Babylon is reckoned the principal city in Assyria. Ib. c. 178. Strabo says the same thing. L. 16. sub init. Bishop Lowth on Is. 14, 25. Compare the Anc. Univers. Hist. v. 4. p. 390. 8vo. 1747.

^w Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 92. ed. Weff.

^z Id. ib. p. 32.

^y De Syr. Dea, p. 657.

Egypt,

Egypt, the former must have been in a great measure the same with that of the latter, which consisted, in part, in the worship of human spirits.

It is on all hands allowed, that the *Chaldean* idolatry, called also the *Sabian*, consisted very much, at least originally, in the worship of the sun, moon, and stars; which were conceived to be severally animated by a soul, in the same manner as the human body is. Very probably they were also thought to be inhabited by the spirits of illustrious men: for it was an opinion generally received, that the spirits of such men, when separated from their bodies, returned to their native skies: and, as various rites were used to draw down souls from the stars into consecrated images and shrines^z, it is much more likely that those rites should respect the souls that only *inhabited* the celestial orbs, than

^z See Hottinger's *Hist. Orient.* l. 1. c. 7. p. 296. et seq. and Pococke's notes on Abul-pharai, *Specimen Hist. Arab.* p. 138. et seq.

such

such as were *united to* them and *animated* them, as the human soul is united to, and animates, the body. Now, their sacred shrines were consulted as oracles, and worshipped as gods^z.

The chief god of the Babylonians was *Bel*. The question here is, who this god was, *Bel* (called by the Greeks *Belus*) in the Chaldee^a dialect answers to the Hebrew *Baal*, and to the Syriac^b *Beel*, and signifies *lord*. This term therefore might be applied to the true God; but it is commonly given in scripture to those fictitious deities, who were falsely supposed to have dominion over mankind^c.

^z See note ^z in the preceding page.

^a Isaiah xlv. 1.

^b Ez. iv. 8.

^c *Populus Dei satis pie eum Baalem suum vocabant, priusquam, ob vocem illam ad profana numina frequenter nimis traductam, id ipsum Deus vetaret. Selden, de Diis Syr. Syntag. II. c. 1. p. 196. And, in p. 200, 201. the same learned writer says: Belus enim primo summum rerum gubernatorem denotabat — grassante vero hominum errore, ad idola transferebatur; et seq.*

But

But was the Bel, who was worshipped at Babylon, the true God? A late writer ^d cites from Dr. Cudworth ^e a passage of Berofus, in which Bel is said *to have framed* (or set in order) *the world, and formed* (or perfected) *the stars and the sun* ^f. It is here asked ^d, *Can any one imagine, — that he, who created the heaven and the earth, received his name from some petty prince in the time of Abraham? Surely not*, says the same writer. It is impossible here to forbear observing, 1st. That Berofus ^g was the priest of Belus in the time of Alexander. Now, from the sacred writings it appears, that for many ages before his time the Babylonians were gross idolaters ^h; and consequently

^d Fell, p. 23.

^e P. 312.

^f Τον δε Βηλον, ον Δια μεθερμενευεσι, — διαταξαι τον κοσμον, — αποτελεσαι δε τον Βηλον και αstra, και ηλιον, και σεληνην, και τας πεντε πλανητας.

^g Extracts from Berofus were made by Africanus, Apollodorus, Alexander Polyhistor, and Abydenus. Of these extracts, fragments have been preserved by Eusebius and Syncellus.

^h Josh. xxiv. 2.

not likely to worship the Creator of heaven and earth. 2dly. It is certain they did not worship him under the name of *Bel*, because the Babylonian *Bel* is spoken of in Scripture as a false god¹. 3dly. No proof is produced to shew, that the *Belus*, spoken of by *Berosus* in the fore-cited passage, was worshipped at all by the Babylonians. Lastly. Had not the writer * alluded to above been unacquainted with the account given by *Berosus* of this god, he would not have passed him off upon his readers as the Creator of heaven and earth. *Belus*, according to *Berosus**, (the very authority appealed to by *Mr. Fell**,) cut off his own head; from the blood of which,

¹ *Bel boweth down; Nebo stoopeth; their idols, &c.* Is. xlv. 1. — *Babylon is taken; Bel is confounded; Merodach is broken in pieces.* Jerem. 1. 2. — *I will punish Bel in Babylon.* Ch. li. 44. — Would God's prophets say of the Creator of heaven and earth, *He is bowed down, and confounded*; and represent God himself as threatening to *punish* him?

* *Fell*, p. 23.

* *Ap. Euseb. Chronicon*, p. 5. et *Syncelli Chronograph.* p. 28.

when mixed with the earth by the *other gods*, men were formed : but they could not bear the light, and therefore he ordered one of the gods to cut off his head, which he himself had cut off before, and to mix the blood with the earth, and from thence to form other men and animals. This experiment succeeded better. There is nothing in this account that looks like *creation*, as that word imports the bringing into being what had no existence before in any form. Nor indeed could any thing be more repugnant to the ideas of Berofus, concerning the *generation* of the world, than the *creation* of it. Least of all was it possible for him to conceive, that a god, who had been beheaded by other gods, was the Creator of heaven and earth.

Bel was a name or title given to several princes ; particularly to the founder of the Babylonian empire. We have already seen¹, that a person of this name

¹ P. 185.

carried colonies from Egypt into Babylon. Abydenus ^m, whose history is extracted from the ancient records of the Chaldeans, says, “ it is reported “ that Belus compassed Babylon with a “ wall.” We are told by Sanchoniathon ⁿ, that Saturn had three sons born in Peræa; viz. *Saturn*, so called after his father, *Jupiter Belus*, and *Apollo*. Saturn, the father of Jupiter ^o Belus, was a Phenician deity; and this son was perhaps the Babylonian Belus. It is certain that Belus, who built Babylon, is sometimes spoken of as a *Tyrian*; particularly by Dorotheus Sidonius ^p, cited by Julius Firmicus. But Pausanias ^q

^m Ap. Euseb. P. E. l. 9. c. 41.

ⁿ Ap. eund. P. E. l. 1. p. 37. D. p. 38. A.

^o As to the prefixing the term *Jupiter* to Belus, instances of a similar nature frequently occur. We read of Jupiter Aratrius, above, p. 141. Jupiter Ammon, p. 85. More examples will occur in the sequel. See also Sir Is. Newton's Chronology, p. 150, 152, 162. and Jac. Perizon. *Ægypt. Orig.* tom. 1. p. 83.

^p Αρχαίη Βαβυλων, Τυρίη Βηλοιο πολισμά.

^q L. 4. c. 23. p. 337.

says,

says, that he had his name from Belus an Egyptian. Phenicia being sometimes considered as belonging to Egypt, there may be no contradiction between Pausanias and Dorotheus. I do not take upon me to determine absolutely who Belus was; nor do I here inquire, whether he be the *Nimrod* or the *Pul* spoken of in Scripture^r. It is sufficient for our purpose, that there was such a person, and that he was the founder of the Babylonian empire. Nebuchadnezzar^s speaks of himself as descended from him; and he is referred to by Virgil^t, not as Dido's father, but as one of her

^r Jac. Perizon. Origin. Babylon. tom. 2. p. 152. et seq. and Freinshemius, in his notes on Quintus Curtius, l. 5. p. 310, 311. attempt to prove, that Belus was the *Nimrod* spoken of Gen. x. 8. But the authors of the Universal Hist. v. 4. p. 352. think that Belus was the same as *Pul*. See also p. 309. in the note.

^s Ο τε Βηλος εμος προγονος, η τε βασιλεια Βηλτις. Euseb. P. Ev. l. 9. c. 41. p. 456.

^t Implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes A Belo soliti. ——— *Æn.* I. 733.

remote ancestors ^u. Servius, on the place, makes him the first king of Assyria.

Let us consider what evidence there is, that this Belus (whether he was an Egyptian, a Phenician, or a Babylonian) was deified after his death. If he be, as some suppose, the Nimrod of the Bible ^w, he was, as we have already shewn ^x, ranked amongst the gods by the Persians, who succeeded to his empire: a plain proof that he was first worshipped at Babylon. Dionysius ^y expressly in-

^u This is implied in the expression, *omnes a Belo, all the descendents of Belus*. Between Dido and her own father none intervened.

^w This hypothesis is favoured by the language of Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxiii. c. 6. p. 286. Babylon, *cujus mœnia bitumine Semiramis struxit; arcem enim antiquissimus rex condidit Belus*. — Ælian calls him, emphatically, *τον Βηλον τον αρχαιον*, Belum illum antiquum. Var. Hist. l. 13. c. 3. And Orosius, II. 6. Babyloniam a Nimrod gigante fundatam; a Nino vel Semiramide reparatam.

^x Above, p. 72.

^y *Μεγαλὸν θεῖον εἰσατο Βηλῶν*. Dionys. Περιηγησ. c. 25. v. 825. — This temple of Belus was afterwards adorned by Nebuchadnezzar, Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. §. 1.

forms us, that a temple was erected to him by Semiramis in that city. From the description, given of the temple of Belus by Herodotus^z, it appears that it was built in the form of the Egyptian pyramids^a. Now, as the latter were sepulchres^b as well as temples, the former must be considered in this double view. The image of Jupiter Belus, which was placed on a throne, at a table, in the chapel which stood below, within the temple, clearly shews who was represented by it. And, though there was a temple in the uppermost tower, in which no image was placed, (from which circumstance some learned writers^c have concluded, that “ the honour of the
“ temple of Belus was meant to be divided between him and the true god,”) yet in the uppermost temple there was a table, a bed, and a woman chosen by

^z Lib. 1. c. 181.

^a Sir Is. Newton's Chronology, p. 327, 328.

^b See below, ch. 3.

^c Anc. Universal Hist. vol. 4. p. 352.

the god himself, who was supposed to come by night and lie in the bed^d. Could this god be considered by the Chaldeans as that eternal Spirit who created the universe? Were not the accommodations provided for him more suitable to their ideas of human nature? Certain it is in fact, that it was to deified men that the like provision was made in other countries^e.

Were it possible still to doubt, whether the founder of the Assyrian and Babylonian empire was worshipped in the

^d Herodot. l. 1. c. 182.

^e In the temple of the *Triphilian Jupiter*, who is represented as having been a man, there was a bed and a table. Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 368. ed. Weff. — The keeper of the temple of *Hercules* provided for him a bed, a supper, and the beautiful *Laurentia*. Plutarch. Vit. Romuli, p. 20. — In *Indostan* the Heathens supply their idol *Jagannat* with the fairest virgin they can procure. Bernier's Memoirs, tom. 3. p. 112. Engl. Translat. — And, in the temple of *Jupiter*, at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, there was a woman who was supposed to be visited by the god at night, agreeably to the account given of *Belus* by the *Babylonians*. Herodot. l. 1. c. 181. Compare *Strabo*, l. 17. p. 1171.

temple of Belus at Babylon, I might appeal to *Eusebius*^f, who tells us, that Belus, the first king of the Assyrians, was deified after his death: to *Jerome*^g, who, in more places than one, speaks of him as having been consecrated and ranked amongst the gods by his son Ninus: and to *Lactantius*^h, and the authors cited by him, who affirm, that Belus was worshipped by the Assyrians and Babyloniansⁱ. I do not affirm, that

^f Euseb. Chronicon, l. 1. p. 9. Tharæ anno 28. Assyriorum rex primus Belus mortuus est, quem Assyrii deum, et alii dicunt Saturnum.

^g Idolum Baal, five Bel, et, ut apertius dicam, Beli, Assyriorum religio est, consecrata a Nino, Beli filio, in honorem patris. Hieronymus in Ezek. c. 23. — Ninus in tantam pervenit gloriam, ut patrem suum Belum referret in deum, qui Hebraice dicitur בל. Hunc Sidorii et Phœnices appellant בעל. Id. in Osea, c. 2.

^h Belus, quem Babylonii et Assyrii colunt, antiquior Trojano bello fuisse invenitur trecentis viginti duobus annis: Belum autem Saturno æqualem fuisse, et utrumque uno tempore adolevisse. Lactant. Div. Institut. l. 1. c. 23.

ⁱ A gentleman, who often assumes the language of a person who has a comprehensive view of the subject on which

that the term *Bel* was never explained physically, and applied to the sun, by learned men, as *Osiris*^k also sometimes was: for the ancients gave the names of their deified kings to the heavenly bodies^l. But the temple of Babylon was erected in honour of a man who founded the Babylonian empire, agreeably to the custom of the Heathens in the like cases. And this *Belus* was the god whom the Babylonians principally worshipped^m.

As *Jupiter Belus* was the chief god of the Babylonians, so their principal god-

which he writes, roundly affirms, that *it is not in my power to prove, that religious honours were ever paid to a deceased man under the name of Bel*. Fell, p. 24. Some however may doubt, whether his knowledge of his subject be altogether answerable to the import of his language. He seems to have known as little of the *Indian Bel* as of the *Babylonian*. Cicero, when reckoning up the several gods who bore the name of *Hercules*, says, *Quintus in India, qui Belus dicitur*. Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 16.

^k Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 14. ed. Weff.

^l See above, p. 135, 161, 162.

^m Ον μαλιστα θεων τιμωσι Βαβυλωνιοι. Arrian. Exped. Alex. l. 3. p. 127. ed. Gronov.

deſs was *Venus* or *Mylitta*ⁿ. She was the ſame with the Perſian *Mitra*^o, the Phenician *Aſtarte*^p, and the great Syrian goddeſs^q; and therefore was certainly worſhipped under a human character. The title of *celeſtial Venus*^r was probably given her becauſe ſhe was worſhipped in the planet of that name, or in the moon. She is ſometimes called *Juno*; under which name ſhe was adored by the Sidonians and Carthaginians^s. Some have thought, that this goddeſs was the famed *Semiramis*^t, who, having extended her empire over a large part of the Eaſt, was likely to receive divine honours from the nations of Aſia. As to her being worſhipped under both

ⁿ Herodot. l. 1. c. 131. cited above, p. 48.

^o Above, p. 68.

^p P. 142.

^q See the next ſection.

^r Πλησιον δε εστιν Αφροδιτης ουρανίας· πρωτοις δε ανδρων Αςσυριοις κατεστη σεβεσθαι την ουρανιαν. Pausanias, Attic. c. 14. p. 36.

^s Hic templum Junoni ingens Sidonia Dido Condebat. — Virgil. Æn. I. 446.

^t Anc. Universal Hiſt. vol. 4. p. 359, 360.

sexes, they account for this circumstance in the character of the queen of Babylon, which was that of a martial heroine and an "abandoned prostitute. Hence she might be considered both as a god of war, and the patroness of pleasure.

The Assyrians and Babylonians had several other gods of mortal origin; particularly *Thuras* or *Thurras*, who succeeded Ninus. He was an eminent warrior, and was called *Mars*, after the planet of that name, (and " *Baal*,) to whom the first pillar was erected *. *Adrammelech* and *Anammelech* were Babylonian deities, to whom human sacrifices were offered ′. The names of some of their other idols

" Athenagoras, (Legat. p. 119.) calls Semiramis, *λαγρος γυνη και μισαιφορος*, libidiosa et sanguinaria. As to the former part of her character, see Agathias, p. 58. ed. 1594.

" *Ωνομασαν αυτον Βααλ*. Suidas, in voc. *Θεας*.

x *Ωστιν Αρει ανεστησαν πρωτην σην ον οι Ασσυριοι, και ως θεον προσεκυβαν αυτον, και εως της νυν καλεσι Περσις τον Βααλ θεον, ο εστι μεδεσμηνηνομενον Αρης, πολεμων θεος*. Chronicon Alexandrinum, p. 88.

γ 2 Kings' xvii. 31.

are preserved; but it is needless to descend into more particulars, because their religion must have been the same with that of the Egyptians, Phenicians, and Syrians, of which a larger account is given by ancient authors. As they deified their sovereigns while living^z, we might from this circumstance alone have inferred, that they worshipped them when dead. The testimonies that have been produced serve to shew, that dead men and women were the more immediate objects of the public devotion at Babylon, and were indeed honoured as their greatest gods.

S E C T. IV.

I Come now to shew, that human spirits were deified by the SYRIANS.

At Hierapolis stood the temple of the great Syrian goddess, who was held in high veneration by the Egyptians, Indians, Ethiopians, Medes, Armenians,

^z Dan. iii.

and Babylonians ^a. In this temple, as we learn from Lucian ^b, were placed the statues of many heathen gods, such as the Greeks called by the names of their own greatest deities, Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Venus, Apollo, Lucina or Diana, Mercury, and others: but there was no statue of the sun or moon, because they deemed it absurd to make representations of gods that were so conspicuous and resplendent, though very reasonable, on the other hand, to form statues of such as were invisible ^c. From this curious passage it appears, that the gods of Syria were of two sorts: the one visible, particularly the sun and moon; the other invisible, that is, human spirits, or such deities as corresponded to the idea the Greeks had formed

^a Lucian, de Dea Syr. p. 676.

^b P. 675. et seq.

^c Μογε γαρ ηελιος και σεληνηαις ξοανα η δεικνυσι. —
 Λεγυσι τοιςι μεν αλλοιςι θεοιςι οσιον εμμεναι ξοανα ποιεσθαι·
 η γαρ σφρων εμφανεα παντεςι τα ειδα· ηελιος δε και σεληνηαιη
 παμπαν εναργεες, και σφρας παιτες ορεσι· κοιη ων αιτη ξο-
 ανηργιης τοιςι εν τω ηερι φαινομενοιςι; Lucian, p. 676, 677.

concerning

concerning those objects of worship that originally belonged to the human race, and were represented by statues. It cannot reasonably be pretended, that Jupiter, Juno, and the other Grecian deities here enumerated, were natural gods; because the former are distinguished from the latter. Apollo and Diana, for example, cannot here denote the sun and moon; for the former had statues as their representatives, but not the latter. And it is very remarkable, that, even so late as the age of Lucian, no statues were erected to the natural gods in Syria; of which circumstance notice will be taken in the sequel.

As to the great Syrian goddess herself, in whose honour the temple was erected, she could not be a natural divinity; as the statue placed between Jupiter and Juno was probably erected in her honour. She seems to have been the same with the Astarte of the Phenicians, and the celestial Venus, so often spoken of above, and to whom there was
an

an ancient temple erected at Ascalon, which is called by Herodotus ^d a city of Syria. Semiramis was worshipped in this country ^e, and is thought by some to be the Syrian goddess herself, and the same with the Derceto of Ascalon ^f.

History informs us, that Belus was worshipped in Syria ^g, as well as at Babylon. *Adad* or *Hadad* was a name common to all the Syrian kings ^h. One of them, whom Sanchoniathon calls *Adod*, reigned in Phenicia, and was stiled, *king of the gods* ⁱ; which is a full proof,

^d Lib. 1. c. 105.

^e She made a law, that the Syrians should worship her as a goddess, in preference to all the other divinities. Lucian, de Syr. Dea, p. 678.

^f Anc. Universal Hist. vol. 4. p. 255, 259. — We learn from Lucian, p. 676. that the statue between Jupiter and Juno, with a golden dove on it's head, was thought by some to be Semiramis.

^g Ο Ζευς, ο Βηλος ονομαζομενος, και εν τη Απαμεια της Συριας τιμωμενος. Xiphilin. in Caracalla, in Excerpt. e Dione, l. 78. p. 884. ed. Hanov.

^h Probably because they consecrated all their kings into gods.

ⁱ Αδωδος, βασιλευς θεων. Sanchoniathon, ap. Euseb. P. Ev. l. 1. p. 38.

that,

that, though the term *Adad* is explained physically by Macrobius^{*}, and applied to the sun, the chief natural god, yet it was understood historically by the people, and applied to their chief hero-god.

Both *Benbadad* and *Hazael* were worshipped by the Syrians, and represented to be of far greater antiquity than they really were¹: a very common practice with the Heathens on other occasions.

The Syrians, in honour of a king called *Damascus*, (from whom the city of Damascus derived it's name,) held sacred the sepulchre of his wife *Arathes* as a temple, and regarded her as a goddess entitled to the most sacred worship^m.

What, therefore, has been before proved concerning the Assyrians, Babylonians, Phenicians, and Egyptians, is also true of the Syrians; viz. that they

^{*} Saturnal. l. 1. c. 23. p. 217.

¹ Joseph. Antiq. l. 9. c. 4. §. 6.

^m Nomen urbi a Damasco rege inditum; in cujus honorem Syrii sepulchrum Arathis uxoris ejus pro templo coluere; deamque exinde sanctissimæ religionis habent, Justin. l. 36. c. 2.

deified

deified dead men and women. The facts produced above farther prove, that these gods of mortal origin were the more immediate and the principal objects of the public and national worship.

I have now finished what I intended to offer concerning the objects of public worship in the *eastern nations*; and have shewn, that these nations, whether barbarous or polished, (especially those of the most distinguished fame, such as Arabia, Phenicia, Syria, Caria, Lycia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Sarmatia, Armenia, Chaldea, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Parthia, Media, India, Scythia, China, Japan, and others,) though they might acknowledge elementary and sideral deities, did nevertheless worship also human spirits. But so entirely unacquainted was a late writer with the proofs of this point here produced, (to which others might be added,) that heⁿ confidently affirms, “ divine honours

ⁿ Fell, p. 7.

“ were

“ were not paid to deceased heroes in
 “ the *eastern nations*.” Left his readers
 should think there were any exceptions,
 he asserts °, that “ the *eastern nations*,
 “ whether barbarous or polished, paid
 “ no religious honours to deceased men.”
 The gentleman has shewn himself e-
 qually unacquainted with the religious
 state of the ancient nations of Europe
 and Africa : for, notwithstanding what
 has been proved to the contrary, he af-
 firms, that “ the custom of the Greeks,
 “ in paying religious honours to de-
 “ parted heroes, was despised by ALL
 “ the great nations amongst the Hea-
 “ thens, the Romans excepted.” It is
 unbecoming in any one to speak upon a
 subject, of which he is ignorant, in the
 decisive language of certain knowledge.
 In matters of fact this is more culpable
 than in speculative points ; for, in the
 former case, we do not rely on the judge-
 ment, but on the veracity, of the speaker,
 presuming he would not affirm with

° Fell, p. 14.

P P. 29.

confidence what he did not know to be true.

S E C T. V.

Shewing that human Spirits were deified by the GREEKS.

IT was elsewhere^a proved, that the natural gods, the sun and moon in particular, were adored by the *Greeks*, as well as by the *Barbarians*. But the present question concerns only their other objects of worship.

All, who have any knowledge of the religion of the Greeks, know, that they worshipped the first founders of states and cities^r; those also who died in defence of their country^s; and such as
were

^a Dissert. on Mir, p. 172. note f.

^r The Chersonesians sacrifice to Miltiades, *ὡς ο τομος*, οὐκ εἰς τὴν. Herodot. l. 6. c. 38.

^s Pericles, speaking of those who fell in the battle at Samos, says, *they were become immortal as the gods*, ἀθανάτους εἶπε γεγενῆσθαι, καθάπερ τῶν θεῶν. He adds, *We do not see the gods themselves*; (which cannot be understood
of

were greatly distinguished by their talents and exploits¹. Some of these illustrious persons were worshipped only in the particular states to which they belonged^u; and others by Greece in general^w. It would be tedious, and it is unnecessary, to produce the various proofs of the deification of men in this country, which occur continually in He-

of the natural gods; see above, p. 201. note^c;) *but, by those honours and good things which they receive from us, we declare our belief of their being immortal. It is just the same with respect to those who die for their country; ταυτ' οὐν υπαρχειν και τοις υπερ της πατριδος αποθανουσιν.* Plutarch. Vit. Periclis, p. 156. D. E. — See the passage from Plato, cited in Dissert. on Mir. p. 191. note^u.

^t Such as the Theban Hercules. Cleades intercedes with Alexander to spare the city of Thebes, *which had not only produced men but gods, and had given birth to Hercules.* Justin. l. xi. c. 4. — Concerning *Hercules*; and also concerning *Castor and Pollux*, see Isocrat. Opera, tom. 2. p. 17, 18. ed. Battie.

^u At *Sparta* they sacrificed every year to Lycurgus, *ως δειω.* Plutarchi Numa, p. 59. B. — The *Athenians* honoured Theseus *ως ηρωα.* Plutarchi Theseus, p. 17. A.

^w Jam vero in Græcia multos habent ex hominibus deos; Alabandum, Alabandi; Tenedi, Tenem; Leucotheam, quæ fuit Ino, et ejus Palæmonem filium, *cuncta Græcia.* Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 15.

rodotus,

Herodotus, Pausanias, Plutarch, and other Greek writers. The law ordained, that the gods, the demons, and the heroes, should be worshipped according to their respective ranks *.

The only question that can admit of a debate is, whether the twelve great gods of Greece, or, as they are sometimes called, *the gods of the greater nations* †, were of human extract. I shall

* Αθανατες μὲν πρῶτα θεοί, νόμῳ ὡς διακρίνεται,

Τίμα, καὶ σεβᾶσθαι ὅρκον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἥρωας ἀγαυούς·

Τέτις τε καταχθονίους σεβᾶσθαι δαίμονας, ἐν νόμῳ ρεζών.

Aurea Carmina, v. 1, 2, 3.

See what is said concerning the *immortal gods*, p. 207. note †, and what occurs in the next section concerning *the ancient gods of heaven*.

Τίμα τὸ δαίμονιον αἰεὶ μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ μετὰ τῆς πόλεως· ἔγω γὰρ δοξοῖς ἀμὰ τε τοῖς θεοῖς θυεῖν, καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἐμμένειν. Isocrat. Opera, tom. 1. p. 23. Το δαίμονιον, i. e. παντὸς υπερβαίνον τὴν ἀνθρώπινον φύσιν, five semidei illi sint, five heroes, — inter deos relati. Wolfii not. in loc. — Draco revived the following law at Athens: Lex esto antiquissima, æternæque auctoritatis in Attica, venerandos esse deos atque heroas patrios et indigenas. Sam. Petit. Comment. in Leg. Attic. p. 69.

† Dii majorum gentium.

P

assign

assign those reasons which incline me to believe they were.

I. The Greeks derived their religion from Phenicia and Egypt ; more especially from the latter. Egypt, according to Lucian^z, was the country that first acquired the knowledge of the gods. His testimony is confirmed by other writers^a. Herodotus represents the Egyptians as *the first who gave names to the twelve gods, and erected altars, images, and temples*^b.

From Egypt and Phenicia religion was easily propagated over the western world, partly by that intercourse between them which commerce created, but principally by colonies. Many of the first princes of Greece were born ei-

^z Above, p. 146. note^k.

^a Ammianus Marcellinus, l. 22. c. 16. p. 268. says : Hic (scil. in Ægypto) primùm homines longe apte alios ad varia relligionum incunabula (ut dicitur) pervenerunt. — Concerning the high antiquity of the heathen gods, such as built their cities, see Diodorus Siculus, p. 16. ed. West.

^b Herodot. l. 2. c. 4.

ther in Phenicia or Egypt, such as Cadmus, Cecrops, Danaus, Erectheus, and others ; and brought with them the religion of their own country, and planted it in the respective places in which they settled. The Athenians are thought to have been a colony from the Egyptian Sais ; and represented Minerva by the same armed image as was done in that city. Erectheus, when made king of Athens, introduced there the Eleusinian mysteries, framed after the custom of Egypt. So great was the fame of this country for learning and religion, that many eminent persons resorted to it for instruction. Orpheus, Musæus, Melampus, and others, who went there with this view, brought away most of it's mysteries and sacred ceremonies ; so that there was no difference between the mysteries of Bacchus and Osiris, or of Ceres and Isis, but the names of those deities in whose honour they were institu-

ted^c. Indeed the very names of the twelve gods^d, and of almost all the Grecian gods^e, were originally derived from Egypt, according to Herodotus. To the same country, according to this historian, the Greeks were indebted for their oracles, sacred festivals, and many religious rites^f.

Had we been only informed, in general terms, that Greece derived its religion from Egypt, we must have inferred, that the principal objects of worship in the former country were of the same kind with those in the latter ; and consequently were of human extract. But, when we are farther told, that the *number* of the great gods in both countries was twelve, and that the *names* of

^c Concerning the several foregoing particulars, see Diodorus Siculus, l. 1. p. 32, 33, 34, 107, 109, 110. ed. Weff. Platon. Crit. p. 110. Plutarch. Is. et Osir. p. 354.

^d Δωδεκα τε θεων επωνυμιας ελεγον πρωτης Αιγυπτιας νομισται, και-Ελληνας παρα σφρων αναλαβειν. Herodot. l. 2.

c. 4.

^e Id. c. 50.

^f Cap. 51, 54-58.

the gods of Greece were borrowed from those of Egypt, we gain new proofs that the gods of both countries were either the very same * or similar; that is, deified men. If the representation, made of the gods by *images* in human form, pointed out their relation to mankind in Egypt, the like representation of them in Greece, in imitation of Egypt, must answer the same end. If *oracles* in one country were ascribed to human spirits, they must be ascribed to such spirits in the other. The *rites of worship* amongst the Heathens always bore a relation to the peculiar character of the gods in whose honour they were instituted; and therefore the same rites could not be performed in Egypt to dead men and women, and in Greece to the natural gods. And if the *mysteries* in one country disclosed the earthly origin of the gods,

* Herodotus says, *Ισις δὲ ἐστὶ, κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, Δημήτηρ.* Lib. 2. c. 59. — As Isis was called, in the Greek language, *Demeter*, so Orus was called *Apollo*; *Bubastis*, *Diana*, c. 156. and *Osiris*, *Bacchus*, c. 144.

they must do so in the other. (And we know this to be the case with regard to both.)

What is thus established by the plainest reasoning is confirmed by the clearest testimony. Eusebius, speaking of that most corrupt species of idolatry, which succeeded the worship of the natural gods, (by which he means that of dead men,) represents it as springing up first in Phenicia, and soon afterwards in Egypt; and immediately adds, that the mysteries of both countries were communicated to the Greeks by Cadmus and Orpheus ^h. And Sanchoniathon ⁱ says, that the custom of deifying kings and the benefactors of mankind, and of worshipping them as *the greatest gods*, which obtained amongst the Phenicians and Egyptians in the most early ages of the

^h Φοινικῶν, εἰτα Αἰγυπτίων, ἀπαρξάμενων τῆς πλάνης, παρ' ὧν Φάσι πρῶτον Ὁρφεὺς τὸν Τάγρεθ, μετασπασάμενον τὰ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους, Ἑλλήσι μεταδίδει μυστήρια, ὥσπερ ἐν καὶ Κάδμου τὰ Φοινικικὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀγαγεῖν. Euseb. P. Ev. p. 17, 18. — Concerning Cadmus, see Nonni Dionysiaca, p. 79, 80.

ⁱ Cited above, p. 135.

world, was from them derived to other nations. Now, amongst these nations, Greece, as we have seen, was certainly included. Consequently, the twelve gods of Greece, like the twelve gods of Egypt and the Cabirs of Phenicia, were of mortal origin.

II. The same point may be farther proved by the testimony of Herodotus, who was certainly well acquainted with the Grecian objects of worship. This historian ^k tells us, that the reason why the Persians did not erect temples, altars, and images, to the gods, (which the Greeks were known to do,) was, *in his opinion, their not believing, as the Greeks did, that the gods are of the race of men.* This testimony, which was urged elsewhere ^l, is excepted against by Dr. Blackwell ^m, and after him by another writer ⁿ; but without any just ground.

^k L. i. c. 131. cited above, p. 47.

^l Differt. on Mir. p. 186, 187.

^m Mythol. p. 217.

ⁿ Fell, p. 7, 27.

The Greek word ° in dispute strictly imports, either *to be sprung from men*, or *to have human nature*. The conclusion meant to be drawn from it is not affected by the latter interpretation : for, to say, the gods had *human natures*, is equivalent to saying, they had been *men*. But I preferred the former interpretation, for two reasons : one was, it's having the sanction of the best editors ^p of Herodotus, and of all other writers, except those who had an end to serve by rejecting it : the other reason was, that this interpretation suits well with the known opinion of the Greeks concerning the gods : for they did believe in gods *sprung from men* ; but they did not admit, that the

° *Ἀνδρωποῦνης*, humanam naturam habens ; item, ortum humanum habens. Scapula. — Dr. Blackwell was justly censured by the author of the *Divine Legation*, vol. 1. p. 97. in the note, 4th ed. for explaining this word by *ανδρωπομορφος*, as if it imported being made *like* a man. But the former word is of a very different import from the latter.

^p Gale and Wesseling render the word, *ex hominibus ortus*.

souls

souls of these men, in their deified state, did still partake of *human nature*. On the contrary, they taught that this *mutable, passible, mortal*, nature was changed into a nature, *immutable, impassible, and immortal*⁹. But I lay very little stress upon this argument, because the word in question might be designed to express the nature which the gods had *originally*. The general meaning of Herodotus is too plain to be easily mistaken. The statues of the gods in human form were a proof of their having been men^r. Herodotus therefore very naturally accounts for the Persians differing so far from the Greeks, as to have no sacred statues, by saying, they had very different notions of the gods: for the Persians did not believe, as the Greeks did, that the gods once *had human natures*, or *were sprung from men*.

The Greeks indeed acknowledged the same natural gods as the Persians did;

⁹ Dissert. on Mir. p. 214. note f.

^r See Div. Legat. vol. 1. p. 97, 98. in the note.

but

but there was this difference between them : in Persia they worshipped the natural gods themselves, directly and immediately ; whereas, in Greece, the more immediate objects of the public worship were deified human spirits, to whom the administration of the government of this lower world was thought to be committed. And, as these presidents over nature did, as it were, intercept and engross the public devotion, Herodotus might justly say, in general terms, that the Greeks believed their gods were of human origin. It must be observed farther, though there was occasion to make the same observation before ^s, that Herodotus is not here speaking of heroes or any of the inferior orders of deities, but of the principal objects of Grecian worship, or of those to whom the title of gods eminently belonged, who had temples, chapels, images and altars, erected in their honour*. He must therefore include in

^s Above, p. 61, 62.

* See Porphyry, de Antro Nymph. p. 254.

this number the twelve great gods of Greece ; and consequently he affirms, that they were dead men and women deified.

III. That the gods of the greater nations were deified mortals, is a point fully established by the *Sacred History of Euhemerus of Messina*. Notice was taken of this argument elsewhere[†]; but I shall here enter into it more fully.

Euhemerus relates, that, in one of the many voyages he undertook by order of Cassander, king of Macedonia, he came to an island called Panchaia, and there found, in the temple of the Triphilian Jupiter, an authentic register of the births and deaths of the gods. Amongst these gods he particularly specifies *Uranus* ; his sons by *Vesta*, viz. *Pan* (or rather *Titan* ^u) and *Saturn*, and his daughters,

[†] Dissert. on Mir. p. 194.

^u Lactantius (Institut. Div. l. I, c. 14.) has the following extract from Euhemerus himself, according to Ennius's translation of him : *Exin Saturnus uxorem ducit Opem. Titan, qui major natu erat, postulat, ut ipse regnaret.*

daughters, *Rhea* and *Ceres* ; the children of *Saturn*^w and *Rhea*, viz. *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Neptune* ; and the offspring of *Jupiter* by *Juno*, *Ceres*, and *Themis*, viz. the *Curetes*, *Proserpine*, and *Minerva*. The foregoing particulars, and several others concerning Euhemerus, are mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, in a fragment preserved by Eusebius^x. And the design of the *Sacred History* was to shew, that the gods were to be regarded as mortal men^y.

This history received the sanction of the most respectable writers of antiquity. It was translated into Latin and appro-

naret. Ibi Vesta, mater eorum, et sorores, Ceres atque Opis, suadent Saturno, ut de regno non concedat fratri. — There being here no mention of *Pan*, it seems probable that the reading in Diodorus should be *Titan*. See Weffeling's Diodorus, tom. 2. p. 634.

^w Saturn succeeded Uranus, and Jupiter succeeded Saturn.

^x Diodor. Sic. Fragm. p. 633, 634. ed. Weff. — Euseb. P. Ev. l. 2. c. 2. p. 59. — Compare Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 42.

^y Ταυτα και τα τετοις παραπλησια, ως περι θνητων ανθρωπων, περι των θεων διελθων. Diodorus, tom. 2. p. 634.

ved by Ennius^z. Cicero also, whose authority is of the greatest weight, adopted the system of the Messinian concerning the heathen gods; as will be shewn in the next section. I shall only observe here, that, though he was fully sensible of the absurdity of worshipping dead men^a, and of the evil tendency of representing the gods as such^b, he does not controvert the truth of that representation. Diodorus Siculus^c cites Euhemerus without censure; and, by the extracts he makes from his history, plainly discovers his opinion of it's fide-

^z Euhemerus, quem noster et interpretatus et secutus est, præter cæteros, Ennius. Cicer. N. Deor. l. i. c. 42.

^a He puts the following words into the mouth of Velleius, the Epicurean: Quo quid absurdius quàm — homines jam morte deletos reponere in deos, quorum omnis cultus esset futurus in luctu? N. Deor. l. i. c. 15.

^b He says, in the person of Cotta, an Academic philosopher: Utrum igitur hic (Euhemerus) confirmasse videtur religionem, an penitus totam sustulisse? Id. ib. c. 42.

^c Vide l. 5. p. 364. et seq. Fragment. ubi supra.

lity. Eusebius ^d certainly entertained the same opinion of it as Diodorus, and appeals to it as a sufficient authority for what he advances with respect to the mean origin of the heathen gods. St. Austin ^e affirms, that Euhemerus established his notion of them as mere mortals by careful researches into ancient history. Lactantius ^f, on different occasions,

^d Præp. Ev. l. 2. c. 2. p. 59. et seq.

^e Euhemerus, omnes tales deos, non fabulosa garrulitate, sed historica diligentia, homines fuisse mortalesque, conscripsit. Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 7. See also l. 7. c. 26.

^f Antiquus autor, Euhemerus, qui fuit ex civitate Messene, res gestas Jovis, et cæterorum qui dii putantur, collegit, historiamque contexuit ex titulis et inscriptionibus sacris quæ in antiquissimis templis habebantur, maximeque in fano Jovis Triphylîi. Lactant. Div. Institut. l. 1. c. 11. p. 49, 50. tom. 1. ed. Dufresnoy. — Aperiamus quæ in *veris* literis continentur. Hæc Ennii verba sunt, &c. Hæc historia quàm *vera* sit, docet Sibylla Erythræa, eadem fere dicens. Id. ib. c. 14. — Ad historiam veniamus, quæ simul et rerum fide, et temporum nititur vetustate. Euhemerus fuit Messenius, antiquissimus scriptor, qui de sacris inscriptionibus veterum templorum et originem Jovis, et res gestas, omnemque progeniem, collegit; item cæterorum

cations, asserts the *truth* of his memoirs, and says they were extracted from the monuments and sacred inscriptions of the oldest temples, and especially from those in the temple of the Triphylian Jupiter. And he affirms, that the most ancient writers of Greece, those whom they called *theologers*, and the Romans, who copied from the Greeks, entertained the same opinion of the gods as Euhemerus^g. According to Minucius Felix^h, “ he pointed out the places where
“ the gods were born, their countries,
“ and their sepulchres, in the different
“ provinces of the earth:” which surely must afford every one an opportunity

rum deorum parentes, patrias, actus, imperia, obitus, sepulcra etiam, persecutus est. Id. Epitome Div. Institut. c. 13. tom. 2.

^g Omnes, qui coluntur ut dii, homines fuerunt. — Quod cùm vetustissimi Græciæ scriptores, quos illi θεολογας nuncupant, tùm etiam Romani, Græcos secuti et imitati, docent; quorum præcipuè Euhemerus, ac noster Ennius. Id. de Ira Dei, c. xi. p. 152.

^h Euhemerus — eorum natales, patrias, sepulchra, dinumerat, et per provincias monstrat. Min. Fel. Octavius, c. xxi.

of

of detecting his imposture, had he been chargeable with any. And Arnobius¹ tells the Heathens, he could prove, that all those whom they called gods had been men, from the writings either of Euhemerus, or Nicagoras, or Pellæus, or Theodorus, or Hippo and Diagoras, or by a thousand other authors, who had made the most critical and diligent inquiry into this subject, and, with an ingenuous freedom of mind, had brought to light things that were concealed from public view.

But Euhemerus, it is said, was branded as an atheist; and this circumstance has been urged to discredit the truth of his doctrine concerning the humanity of the gods. In answer to this objection, it may be observed,

¹ Possumus quidem hoc in loco omnes istos, nobis quos inducitis atque appellatis deos, homines fuisse monstrare, vel Agragantino Euhemero replicato, — vel Nicagoro Cyprio, vel Pellæo Leonte, vel Cyrenensi Theodoro, vel Hippone ac Diagora Meliis, vel auctori- bus aliis mille, qui scrupulosæ diligentiae cura in lucem res abditas libertate ingenua protulerunt. P. 147.

1. No man was deemed an atheist, by the Heathens, if he worshipped any gods who interested themselves in the affairs of mankind, though they were only such as had been men. Such gods alone as these were worshipped by the Getes and Augilites, who nevertheless were not censured as atheists^k. The Panchaïans discovered an extraordinary devotion to those divinities, whose births and deaths were registered in their most magnificent temple^l. So far was the deification of men from implying atheism, that it rather presupposed the existence of the natural gods, with whom the deified men were associated, and from whom they derived their power and authority^m. The priests, who cer-

^k Above, p. 32, 97.

^l Euhemerus represents them as εὐσεβεία διαφέροντας, καὶ τῆς θεῶν τιμῶντας μεγαλοπρεπέσταταις θυσίαις, κ. τ. λ. As to the celestial gods, he says, Uranus was the first who honoured them with sacrifices; from which circumstance he derived his name. Diod. Sic. Fragm. p. 633, 634.

^m Dissert. on Mir. p. 175. note ^l.

tainly did not intend to promote atheism, did themselves reveal the human origin of the great gods to those initiated into the mysteries. And those philosophers, who were concerned to support the public religion, maintained that (even according to the rules of right reason, as will be shewn hereafter) virtuous men were advanced first to the rank of heroes, next to that of demons, and afterwards to that of gods, having attained to a state of the highest perfection and blessedness ⁿ. Euhemerus therefore was not ranked amongst the atheists merely for asserting, that those worshipped by the people as gods had once been men.

2. What the Heathens lay to the charge of Euhemerus is, his believing, *that there were no gods, or none who take*

ⁿ Ουδεν εν δει τα σωματα των αγαθων συναναπεμπειν παρα φυσιν εις θρανον, αλλα τας αρετας και τας ψυχας πανταπασι νομιεσθαι, κατα φυσιν και δικην δειαν, εκ μεν ανθρωπων, εις ηρωας, εκ δ' ηρων, εις δαιμονας, εκ δε δαιμονων — εις θεας αναφερεσθαι, το καλλιστον και μακαριωτατον τελος απολαβουσας. Plutarchi Romulus, p. 36. A.

care of mankind°. He was accused of real atheism; but Theophilus Antiochenus^p seems to intimate that he did not publicly avow this principle at first. And it might be charged upon him only as the apprehended consequence of his rejecting the received notion of the popular gods; just as Socrates, for a similar reason,

° *Who, says Ælian, can forbear extolling the wisdom of the Barbarians? for none of them ever fell into atheism, or doubted whether there are any gods, or any who take care of mankind. They never entertained the like sentiment as Eubemerus — but universally asserted, that there are gods, and that they take care of us.* Τις ἔκ αν ἐπηνεσε τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων σοφίαν; εἶγε μὴδεις αὐτῶν εἰς ἀθεοτητα ἐξεπέσε, μὴδὲ ἀμφιβαλλῶσι περὶ θεῶν, ἀρεὰ γέ εἰσιν, ἢ ἔκ εἰσι· καὶ ἀρεὰ γέ ἡμῶν φροντίζουσιν, ἢ οὐ. Οὐδεις γὰρ ἐννοίαν ἐλάβε τοιαύτην, οἷαν ὁ Εὐήμερος — λέγουσι δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων προεξηρημένοι, καὶ εἶναι θεοὺς, καὶ προνοεῖν ἡμῶν. Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 31. — See also Plutarch. de Placit. Philosoph. l. 1. c. 7. p. 880.

^p “ After having had the courage to speak many “ things concerning the gods,” (that is, I apprehend, to represent them as having been men,) “ he at last went “ so far as to affirm, that there were no gods at all, nor “ any superintending providence, but that the world “ was governed by chance.” Πολλὰ γὰρ περὶ θεῶν τολμήσας φθονῆσθαι, ἰσχυάτον καὶ τὸ ἐξολῆ μὴ εἶναι θεοὺς, ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα αὐτοματισμῷ διοικεῖσθαι βουλέται. Theoph. Ant. ad Autolycum, l. 3. p. 293, 294. ed. Wolfii.

was deemed an atheist, though he was far from deserving such a reproach. Whatever Euhemerus's real character was, it is certain that one reason of his being thought an atheist was his speaking of the gods as men who perished at death, and consequently were not really deified. We are expressly told by Sextus Empiricus⁹, that he represented their pretended deification as the mere effect of the pride and policy of princes and great men, in order to procure a higher veneration for their persons, and a more ready submission to their authority. Now, if all those who were worshipped as gods had been men, as Euhemerus asserts, and these men were falsely supposed to become gods, the Heathens would regard him as one who

⁹ Εὐήμερος δὲ, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς ἀθεός, φησιν, ὅτ' ἦν ἀτάντος ἀνδρῶπων βίος, οἱ περιγενομένοι τῶν ἀλλῶν ἰσχυρὶ τε καὶ συνεσεί, ὥστε πρὸς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν κελευόμενα πάντα βίην, σπῆδαζόντες μείζονος θαυμασμοῦ καὶ σεμνοτήτος τυχεῖν, ἀνεπλασαν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπερβαλλῆσαν τινα καὶ θεῖαν δύναμιν, ἐνθεν καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνομισθῆσαν θεοί. Sextus Empiricus, *adv. Physicos*, l. 9. c. 2. §. 17. p. 552. ed. Fabricii. Vid. §. 51.

believed

believed there were no gods at all. Plutarch, in a passage that will be quickly cited, grounds the charge of atheism against him, not upon his asserting that the gods had been men, but upon his maintaining that they were nothing more than men long since dead. Nay, Plutarch, as we shall see *, distinguishes the former of these propositions from atheism. The account here given of the Messinian is confirmed by Clemens Alexandrinus †, who says, “ that Euhemerus, Nicanor, Diagoras, Hippo, Theodorus, and others, “ were called atheists, because they had “ the sagacity to discern the error of other men concerning the gods ;” that is, they clearly saw they were not real divinities.

Now, if Euhemerus would not have been accused of atheism by the Hea-

* Below, p. 234.

† Εὐημερον — και τινας αλλας συχνης, — καθεωρακο-
τας οξυτερον πα των λοιπων ανθρωπων την αμφι της θεας τατης
πλανην, αθεας επικληκασιν. Clem. Alexandr. Cohort, ad
Gentes, tom. 1. p. 20, 21. ed. Potteri.

thens, had he merely asserted, that the received gods had been mortal men, provided he had allowed their advancement, after death, to a deified state: the objection we have been examining does not reach the point. And, if one ground, at least, of the charge of atheism against him was his denying the real deification of men, this is a demonstration that the Heathens acknowledged this principle; and consequently the objection under consideration establishes the point it was meant to overturn.

The only plausible objection against the history of Euhemerus is that urged by Plutarch; viz. that no one besides this historian had ever seen the island of Panchaia*. Plutarch, as a priest of the gods, could not but be displeased with the Messinian for minutely inquiring into their character and actions, and for publishing to the whole

* *Is. et Osir.* p. 360. A. B.

world their earthly origin ^t. He was still more highly offended at his representing them as men who were destroyed by death. He himself was an advocate for the real deification of virtuous souls ^u, for the physical explication of the absurd stories concerning the gods ^w, and for the existence of an order of celestial demons ^x; and, on these principles, he undertook the defence of the pagan religion, at a time when it was warmly attacked, not only by the sceptical philosophers, but by the Christians in every

^t It was a sacred maxim, with the Heathens, “ that it was more their duty to *believe* the deeds of the gods, than to *know* them;” which they observed even with regard to those gods who had been men. See above, p. 159. note ^a. Hercules is the god there spoken of. To reveal the secret of the mysteries was an act of the highest impiety. Hence Plutarch complains, that asserting the humanity of the gods was *moving things which ought not to be moved*. *If. et Osir.* p. 359. F. In order to support their false religion, the pagan priests found it necessary to check curiosity, and prevent free inquiry, on the subject.

^u Above, p. 226. note ⁿ.

^w *If. et Osir.* passim.

^x *Ib.* p. 360.

part of the world, on account of it's consisting in the worship of dead men. That it did consist very much in such worship, they proved by many arguments, and particularly by the testimony of Euhemerus. Can we wonder then that Plutarch laboured to disparage it, when we consider that it overturned his favourite speculations, and left his religion without the shadow of a support? But let us examine the weight of his objection. Even if there was no such island as Panchaia, the doctrine of Euhemerus might be true, because it was supported by other records besides those of the temple of the Triphylian Jupiter, which might be appealed to only to avoid the odium and danger of divulging the secret of the mysteries. There is however no sufficient reason to affirm, that the island of Panchaia had no existence. It is mentioned by Pomponius Mela ^y, described by Diodorus Sicu-

^y L. 3. c. 8. l. 69. with the notes of F. Vossius, p. 852.

lus^z, and it's existence, according to Vossius, established beyond contradiction by the testimony of Ptolemy Euergetes^a. The history of Euhemerus's voyage to it met with credit from many respectable writers, who lived much nearer to the time of it's publication than Plutarch. And if, in the remote age of this philosopher, or even in that of Polybius^b, it was not known that any one had ever seen Panchaia besides our voyager, let it be remembered, that he was more likely than any other to discover this island, as he had sailed much farther to the south of the Arabian gulph than mere traders had ever done, having been sent out by

^z L. 5. p. 364. et seq. Fragm. p. 633.

^a Ut omnem prorsus tollam dubitationem, subjungam testimonium omni exceptione majus, Ptolemæi nempe Euergetæ, excerptum ex monumento Adulitico, in quo recensentur gentes Ethiopicæ, quas ipse præsens subjugavit. — This monument mentions the *Panchaites*. — Vossius, ubi supra;

^b See Strabo, l. 2. p. 163. and l. 7. p. 459. from whence it appears that Polybius did not credit the account given of Panchaia,

the king of Macedonia, on purpose, as it should seem, to make new discoveries.

What has Plutarch done to refute the doctrine of Euhemerus? To my apprehension, what he has admitted serves fully to establish it. He allows that the things related of the gods accord with the opinion of their having been men^c, and that those who hold this opinion *have the support of history*^d; though at the same time he acknowledges it's tendency to produce atheism^e; or that a belief that the objects of their worship had been men led to a denial of their being really gods^e. What could Euhemerus himself desire more than such a concession from a learned and able adversary?

After the foregoing observations, Plutarch immediately introduces the men-

^c See above, p. 166.

^d Εχουσιν απο των ιστορημενων βοηθειας. Plutarch. p. 359. E.

^e It opened μεγαλας τω αδew λεω κλισιαδας, a great window or door to atheistic people. If. et Osir. p. 360.
— This proves what was before asserted, that Plutarch distinguishes between the humanity of the gods, and the effect it might produce on persons of reflection.

tion of our author, and complains,
 “ that he had spread all manner of athe-
 “ ism throughout the world, and struck
 “ at the existence of all the received gods
 “ without distinction, whom he descri-
 “ bed merely as ancient generals, admi-
 “ rals, and kings’.” This passage serves
 to shew, that Euhemerus gained many
 converts to his opinion. We are asked*,
Did the Heathens receive his doctrine? If
not, what have we to do in this case with the
groundless suppositions of an individual?
 Could Plutarch justly charge Euhemerus
with spreading atheism throughout the world,
 if his doctrine had not been received
 throughout the world? The reception
 of his doctrine was the *cause*; atheism
 was the *effect*; and both must have been
 of equal extent. So that the doctrine of
 Euhemerus concerning the *origin* of the

* Πασαν αθεοτητα κατασκευασουσιν της οικουμενης, της νομι-
 ζομενης θεας παντας ομαλως διαγραφων, εις ονομα (ονοματα)
 στρατηγων, και ναυαρχων, και βασιλεων, ως δη παλαι γεγοно-
 των. If. et Osir. p. 360. A,

* Fell, p, 81.

gods,

gods, which a late writer treats as *the groundless supposition of an INDIVIDUAL*, was allowed to be generally received, as well as founded in uncontroverted facts, even by that great man who was most offended at it's being broached. And it has been proved, that this doctrine was maintained and defended by Greek and Roman, by Heathen and Christian, writers, and supported by the authority of records in the most ancient temples.

Now, if this doctrine of Euhemerus be true, then even the great gods of Greece were men and women, who were, without any reason, supposed to become gods after death.

This point will be farther confirmed by other testimonies in the next section, when the Roman gods come under consideration. And, were we to descend to a particular enumeration of the several Grecian deities of which we are here speaking, we should find distinct evidence of the human origin of each. But, as this would lead to a repetition of many
things

things already noticed, and to an anticipation of others which will occur in the sequel, I shall only consider the case of the Grecian *Jupiter, the father of gods and men*^h.

The term *Jupiter*, which, according to Cicero, denotes only *a helping father*ⁱ, was commonly used to express the supreme pagan deity. The philosophers described, by this term, their supreme natural divinity; which, according to some, was the world or soul of the world; and, according to others, either the æther or the sun^k. But the present

^h Πατρὸς ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε. Homer.

Pater divumque hominumque. Latin poets. Cicero, Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 25.

ⁱ Juvans pater. Id. ib.

^k The proofs of this point need not be produced here. I shall only observe, that, though Mr. Fell affirms, p. 22. “that it is universally known, that no part of nature was ever considered by the Heathens as their supreme deity; and that the sun, in particular, was not so considered,” p. 15. yet, in express contradiction to himself, the same writer maintains, p. 124. “that their (the Heathens) chief deities were
“ the

sent¹ question concerns only that Jupiter who was the chief object of the established worship in the ancient nations, and particularly in Greece.

“ the æther, sun, moon, planets, and hosts of heaven;” nay, he pleads that some nations adored no gods but the sun or the heavens, p. 8, 9. He says, p. 119. (see also p. 5.) “ that the *Creator* of all things “ was *acknowledged* amongst them (the Heathens) almost every where.” Could he be acknowledged by those whose *chief* deities were the sun and moon? More conformable to the real fact is the declaration of scripture. *They sacrificed not to God*, Deut. xxxii. 17. *When they knew* (or had plain notices of) *God, they glorified him not as God, but served the creature* (παρά) *rather than the Creator*; that is, *passing by the Creator*, (see Beza in loc. and the Syriac and Æthiopic versions, and the vulgar Latin,) or *in opposition to him*, (so παρά τον νομον, Acts xviii. 3. is *contrary to law*,) Rom. i. 21. — But all that occurs in this writer, about the *uncreated* God, p. 6. the *created* gods, p. 15, 16, 17. the *Creator* of the universe, and the *creation*, p. 1, 5. so far as this language respects the Heathens, serves only to shew he was not sensible, that the Heathens, who lived before the coming of Christ, denied a proper *creation*, and asserted the *generation* of the gods and of the world. Now, “ no *generation*,” they said, “ is made “ from what does not exist:” Οὐκ ἐκ τῆς μὴ οὐτος ἡ γενεσις. Plutarch. de Animæ Procreat. p. 1014. B.

¹ See above, p. 6.

The Arcadians ^m disputed with the Cretans the honour of giving birth to Jupiter ; but it is sufficient to our purpose to observe, that the contest itself proved his being regarded by both as a man. If he was not born in Crete, he was certainly educated there ; and was called *Dictæan* from a mountain in that island called *Dictæ*, the place of his education ⁿ. He died, at the age of an hundred and twenty °, in the island of Crete ^p. Callimachus, indeed, will not

^m Callimach. Hymn. in Jov. v. 6, 7. Cicero, Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 21. says, the theologers reckoned three Jupiters ; two born in Arcadia ; the third in Crete, who was the son of Saturn. See Lactantius, l. 1. c. 11. and Arnobius, l. 4. p. 135. who affirm the same concerning the Cretan Jupiter.

ⁿ Virgil. Georg. IV. 152. Servius on Æn. III. 171.

^o Suidas (voc. Πηκος) says, Πηκος, ο και Ζευς, τελευτα, ζησας κ' και εκατον ετη. Compare Chron. Alexand. p. 87, 89. Ennius (ap. Lactant. l. 1. c. 11. p. 52.) says of Jupiter, Ætate pessum actâ, in Creta vitam commutavit, et ad deos abiit.

^p See Lactantius, in the preceding note.

allow

allow that he died^a; yet, by representing him as the offspring of Rhea, by pointing out the place of his nativity^r, and making his strength and exploits the ground of his becoming *king of the gods*^s, he plainly holds him forth under a human character. His tomb was openly shewn in Crete^t; and Diodorus Siculus

^a Callimach. Hymn. in Jov. v. 9. See some just strictures on Callimachus, on account of his denying the death of Jupiter, in Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christian. p. 121, 122. ed. Oxon.

^r Εν δὲ σὲ Παρρησίῃ Ρεῖη τέκε. In Parrhasia vero te Rhea peperit. v. 10. See v. 15, 16, 17.

^s Οὐ σὲ θεῶν ἐσσηνα παλοὶ θεσαν, ἐργα δὲ χειρῶν,
Σὴ τέ βιη, τὸ τέ καρτος, κ. τ. λ. v. 66, 67.

Non te regem deorum fecerunt fortes, sed opera manuum, tuaque vis et robur. — These were the usual grounds of deifying men.

^t Lucian. de sacrificiis, tom. 1. p. 367. ed. Amstel. 1687. Cicero, speaking of the Jupiter born in Crete, says, Cujus in illa insula sepulchrum ostenditur. Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 21. Pythagoras wrote upon the tomb of the Cretan Jupiter the following epigram:

Ὡδὲ θανὼν κεῖται Ζαν, οὐ Δία κλησησέσιν.

Zan, whom men call Jupiter, lies here deceased. Porphy. Vit. Pythagor. p. 187. ed. Cantab. 1655. According to Euhemerus, the inscription upon Jupiter's tomb

Siculus * relates, that the remains of it were to be seen in his time. He was highly celebrated for his wisdom and valour, and reigned over a large part of the earth. Having restrained violence, established laws, promoted the welfare of society, and rendered himself an eminent benefactor to his subjects and to mankind, he was judged worthy of an eternal kingdom, and a seat in Olympus, by the whole human race^u.

R

The

tomb was, *Ζαν Κρονος*, Jupiter Saturni. Lactant. Epitome, tom. 2. c. 13. p. 10. ed. Dufresnoy. Suidas says, that, when he was dying, he ordered his body to be buried in the island of Crete; and that the inscription upon his tomb was, *Ενθαδε κεταται θανων Πηκος ο Ζευς*. He adds, that very many writers made mention of his tomb. Suidas, voc. *Πηκος*. — Apud insulam Cretam sepulturæ traditus, says Arnobius, p. 135.

* L. 3. p. 230. ed. Weff.

^u Euhemerus Jovem tradit, cùm quinquies orbem circumivisset, et amicis suis atque cognatis distribuisset imperia, legesque hominibus, multaque alia bona fecisset, immortalis gloria memoriaque affectum sempiterna, in Creta vitam commutasse, atque ad deos abiisse. Lactant. Epitome, c. 13. tom. 2. p. 10. — Diodorus Siculus, l. 5. p. 387, 388. after enumerating the blessings
of

The Cretans, in particular, who gloried in having his tomb amongst them, honoured him with more excellent rites and sacrifices than their other deities, regarded him as the ruler of all things in heaven ; of showers, thunder and lightening, and of the temperature of the air, on which the fruits of the earth depend ; and called him *Zen*, because to him they owe their lives or the means of subsistence ^w. The representation made

of his reign, says : Δια δε το μεγαδος των ευεργεσιων, και την υπεροχην της δυναμεως, συμφωνως αυτω παρα παντων συγκεχωρησθαι την τε βασιλειαν εις τον αιει χρονον, και την οικησιν την εν Ολυμπω.

^w Καταδειχθηναι δε και θυσιας αυτω συντελειν υπερ της αλλης απαντας, κ. τ. λ. Sacra etiam præ cæteris exquisita ipsi peragi institutum ; et, post migrationem e terris in cœlum, iusta mentibus hominum, in quos beneficia contulerat, persuasio infixæ est, quod omnium quæ in cœlo fiunt, imbrium, inquam, et tonitruum, fulminumque, et id genus aliorum, arbiter sit et moderator. Ideoque *Zena* ipsum vocant, propterea quod vivendi, quod *Zen* Græcis est, auctor esse, dum commoda aeris temperie fructus ad maturitatem perducit, existimatur. Diod. Sic. p. 388. — Compare the account which Diodorus gives of the Jupiter of the Atlantians. He was called

made of the Grecian Jupiter by Homer, notwithstanding his magnificent descriptions of him, is perfectly conformable to the account here given of his low origin. If, according to Homer, Jupiter reigned over the gods, and shook all heaven with his nod, yet, according to the same poet, he wanted the assistance of Briareus to save him from the violence of Neptune, Juno, and Minerva*. The passions and vices ascribed to him shew that he partook of the nature of man. In Plato's *Euthyphro*, where he is stiled,

called *Zen*, δια το δοκειν τε καλως ζην αιτιον γενεσθαι τοις ανθρωποις, καδιδρυνηναι δ'εν τω κοσμω τη των ευ παδοντων τιμη, παντων προδυμως αναγορευοντων θεον και κυριον εις τον αιωνα τε συμπαντος κοσμου. L. 3. p. 230. ed. Westf. — As to Jupiter's ruling in the air, it is illustrated by the account of *T'hor*, given above, p. 36. note c.

* See *Dissert. on Mir.* p. 177. Plutarch quotes the following lines from Homer, which well agree with what occurs in this reference. Speaking of Jupiter and Neptune, the poet says :

*Both of one line, both of one country, boast;
But royal Jove's the eldest, and knows most.*

Plutarch. *Is. et Osir.* p. 351.

the best and most just^y of the gods, he is at the same time represented as holding his father in chains. In the very rites of his worship, there was a manifest reference to the history of his infant condition^z. But it is needless to multiply proofs in so plain a case. I must not however omit to observe, that the mention made by the Heathens, of his parents and more remote ancestors, of his brethren, descendents, and kindred^a, is a farther proof of his belonging to the human race. And, if this was the case as to Jupiter, it must be the same as to the other gods and goddesses who were

^y Ἄριστος καὶ δίκαιοτατος. Platon. Euthyphro, p. 5. tom. 1. ed. Serrani.

^z Ipſius Cretici Jovis ſacra, quid aliud, quam quomodo ſit, aut ſubtractus patri, aut nutritus, oſtendunt? Capella eſt Amaltheæ nymphæ, quæ uberibus ſuis aluit infantem. Lactant. l. 1. c. 21. p. 100.

^a Arnobius thus addreſſes the Heathens: At vero Jupiter, ut vos fertis, et patrem habet et matrem, avos, avias, fratres. Adv. Gentes. p. 19. — See alſo p. 92, 93. and what Lactantius advances on this ſubject, upon the authority of Euhemerus and Ennius, lib. 1. c. 14. and Epitome Div. Inſtitut. tom. 2. c. 13.

of

of the same family with him, and of whom he was chief^b.

R 3 From

^b It may not be improper to observe, that, if the *twelve* gods of Greece had not been known to be of human descent, Demades could never have thought of adding Alexander to that number, and making him the *thirteenth*. It was because Alexander thought himself not inferior to Dionysus, that he pleaded his having an equal right with him to the worship of the Arabians. Above, p. 85, 86. His hope of becoming one of the gods of Egypt (see above, p. 168.) must have been founded upon the same principle; and the conduct of Demades cannot be accounted for on any other. The Athenians indeed were offended with the orator; but it was (ὅτι θνητον αὐτον δὴ τον Αλεξανδρον οντα ενεγραψε τοις Ολυμπιοις) because he enrolled Alexander, while he was still a mere mortal man, amongst the gods who inhabited Olympus, or heaven. Though heaven was peopled from the earth, yet the Athenians judged it impious to decree those honours to any one while a man only, (for Alexander was now living,) which were peculiar to the oldest of their gods. *Ælian. Var. Hist.* l. 5. c. 12. *Comp.* l. 2. c. 19. — The people of Cyzicum were somewhat less scrupulous; for they called Adrian, *the thirteenth god*, τρισκαιδεκατον θεον. *Socrat. Hist. Eccles.* l. 3. c. 23. p. 205. — What this historian relates in this place concerning Cleomedes, that the oracle required men to honour him with sacrifices, ὡς μηκετι θνητον εοντα, utpote qui non amplius sit mortalis, explains the motive, on which the Athenians acted,

From the whole of what has been offered in this section, we may conclude, that, amongst the Greeks, however they might acknowledge the natural gods, yet the dead men and women, whom they

acted, in a manner consistent with the supposition of the twelve gods having been once men. Philip was called *τρισκαίδεκατος θεός*. Stob. Serm. 96. p. 534.

Mr. Fell affirms, p. 24. "that I cannot bring any decisive evidence to shew, that such" (that is, religious) "worship was paid to a human spirit under the term "*Jupiter*." I do not know how any writer could furnish his readers with more *decisive evidence*, to shew how little knowledge he had of the subject, with which he would seem to be well acquainted. Without appealing to the facts already stated, I would observe, that Varro (ap. Tertullian. Apol. c. 14.) reckoned up three hundred Jupiters; and that probably there were many more; it being customary with the ancients to give this name to those eminent persons who either first founded a state, or contributed greatly to it's prosperity, and whom they raised to the rank of gods, and worshipped as such. Thus Ammon, Dagon, Belus, and Æneas, were severally stiled *Jupiter*. As almost every country had it's Jupiter, so some countries had several. The Lacedæmonians bestowed upon their kings *two priesthoods*; *that of the Lacedæmonian*, and *that of the celestial, Jupiter*. Herodot. 1.6. c. 68. Upon the sepulchre of Minos in Crete was this inscription, *Το Δίος, the sepulchre of Jupiter*. Sir Is. Newton's Short Chronicle, p. 22.

vainly

vainly deified, were the more immediate and principal objects of their public worship.

S E C T. VI.

It remains to be skewn, that human spirits were worshipped by the ROMANS.

AS the Romans derived their religion from Greece, Egypt, and the East, we are naturally led to expect a conformity between their objects of worship and those of the nations here specified; in which it has been already proved, that dead men and women were deified.

Æneas, from whom the Romans claimed to be descended, brought from Troy into Italy his *household gods*^c, who were the souls of his departed ancestors^d;

R 4 and

^c Cum fociis, natoque, penatibus, et magnis dīs.

Virg. Æn. III. 12.

See also VIII. 679.

^d The *Phrygian penates*, in their address to Æneas, after making mention of Dardanus, add, *genus a quo principe nostrum*. Æn. III. 148, 168. See Servius in loc. This learned commentator says, *Penates sunt omnes*

and *the great gods*, who probably were the Samothracian deities stiled *Cabirs*, or *great and powerful divinities* ^c (natives of Phenicia, spoken of above ^f). We are farther informed, that the Trojan prince established religious ceremonies in ho-

nes dii qui domi coluntur. *Æn.* II. 514. They are spoken of as the guardian deities of Troy, *Æn.* II. 293. More will be said concerning the *penates* in this section.

^c The *penates* being called *magni*, *Æn.* IX. 258. and *magni dii*, Macrob. l. 3. c. 4. some suppose that the *magni dii* were the same as the *penates*: (Servius, on *Æn.* III. 12.) but, in the passage cited above, note ^c, they seem to be distinguished. The Phenicians, who settled in *Samothrace*, introduced there the worship of the *Cabirs*; and, from *Samothrace*, their mysteries were probably carried into Phrygia by Dardanus: (see Plutarch's *Camillus*, p. 139.) and, as the *Cabirs* answer the import of Virgil's *magni dii*, they are probably here intended. Some think that, by the *magni dii*, Virgil means *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Mercury*. Servius on *Æn.* VIII. 679. III. 264. *Æneas*, it was generally said, brought into Italy the image of Pallas or Minerva; (Plutarch. *ubi supra*;) who, according to Virgil, was the *inventress of oil*. *Georg.* I. 15.

^f P. 140. where it might have been observed, that, though Herodotus mentions, he does not appear to favour, the opinion of those who thought the *Cabirs* to be the sons of *Vulcan*.

nour

nour of his father's genius^g; instructed the people in the sacred rites due to the dead^g; and was himself, after his decease, worshipped under the title of *Jupiter Indiges*^h. From these facts it appears, that, both in the country he had left, and amongst his own descendents in Italy, gods of human origin were worshipped, and represented by sacred imagesⁱ.

^g Ille patris genio solemnia dona ferebat :

Hinc populi ritus edidicere pios.

Ovid. Fasti, l. II. 545.

Concerning the worship of Anchises, see Virg. *Æn.* VII. 133. and V. 58, 59. Compare Lactant. l. i. c. 15. p. 66, 67.

^h Situs est, (*Æneas*,) quemcunque eum dici jus fasque est, super Numicium flumen : *Jovem indigetem* appellant. Liv. I. 2.

Illic sanctus eris, quum te veneranda Numici

Unda deum cœlo miserit indigetem.

Tibull. II. 5, 45.

Concerning the worship of *Æneas*, see Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. p. 42.

ⁱ The penates which *Æneas* brought into Italy are called *lignea vel lapidea figilla*. Servius on *Æn.* III. 148. from Varro. See Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. i. c. 67. p. 53. ed. Oxon.

The

The Romans, it is true, were forbidden by Numa to represent the gods either under a human or brutal form; and accordingly had no such representations of them for the first hundred and seventy years*. This seems to have given occasion to a late writer¹ to assert, “that *the Grecian idolatry* was not admitted amongst the Romans for *above* an hundred and seventy years after Romulus.” If, by *the Grecian idolatry*, the gentleman means the worship of *images*, his assertion could not answer his design of refuting what was advanced concerning the heathen gods in the Dissertation on Miracles: but, if he thereby means the worship of *deified men*, (which his argument plainly requires,) he was certainly under a great mistake. Romulus, who was killed in the thirty-

* Plutarchi Numa, p. 65. Varro, ap. August. Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 31. — Statues and images were afterwards introduced at Rome. Florus, l. 5. Tertullian. Apol. c. 25.

¹ Fell, p. 14.

seventh year of Rome, had divine honours decreed to him by the people; the senate concurring in raising him to the rank of a god, though they abhorred him as a king^m. Nay, Numa, his immediate successor, (that very Numa who forbade the use of images, and is thought by some to have accomplished some such reformation, amongst the Romans, as Zoroaster is said to have done amongst the Persians,) built a temple, appointed sacrifices, and added a priest, in honour of Romulusⁿ.

Amongst other laws respecting religion, he ordained the following: *Let all honour the ancient gods of heaven, and those whose merits have carried them thither; such as Hercules, Bacchus, Æscula-*

^m The senators, who had murdered Romulus, persuaded the people that he was translated to the gods; and that, having been an indulgent king, he would now be to them a propitious deity. Plutarchi Romulus, p. 34, 35.

ⁿ Dionys. Hal. vol. i. p. 119. Oxon. — Plutarchi Numa, p. 64. C. — Liv. I. 20.

pius, Castor, Pollux, and Quirinus^o. By *the ancient gods of heaven*^p, we are not to understand gods that existed from eternity^q, but such as had been in heaven from

^o Divos, et eos qui cœlestes semper habiti, colunto, et illos quos endo cœlo merita vocaverint; Herculem, Liberum, Æsculapium, Castorem, Pollucem, Quirinum. Cicero, de Legibus, l. 2. c. 8.

^p So Hook (Roman History, vol. 1. p. 59.) translates *cœlestes semper habiti*; whom I have followed, because it does not appear he had any particular hypothesis to support by this translation.

^q Arnobius, adv. Gentes, p. 92, 93. well observes: *Ipsi dii immortales, quorum modo aditis templa, et numina suppliciter adoratis, sicut vestris literis atque opinionibus traditur, non esse, non sciri, ab temporibus cœperunt certis, et impositis nominum appellationibus nuncupari?* Nam, si verum est, ex Saturno atque ejus uxore Jovem suis cum fratribus procreatum; ante nuptias et partus Opis nusquam fuerat Jupiter tam supremus, quam Stygius: nusquam fali dominus, nusquam Juno. — Rursus vero, si Liber, Venus, Diana, Mercurius, Apollo, Hercules, Musæ, Tyndaridæ Castores, ignipotensque Vulcanus, Jove patre sunt prodi, et genitore Saturnio procreati, antequam Memoria, quàm Alcmene, Maia, Juno, Latona, Leda, Di-one, tum et Semela, Diespitri factæ sunt compressionibus fœtæ, nusquam et hi gentium, nec in aliqua parte rerum fuere naturæ, sed ex conventu Jovis infeminati et nati sunt, et aliquem sensum sui habere cœperunt.

from *the beginning*, or from the *earliest ages*. To these, six more were added in later times, who are universally allowed to have been men, but who were eminently distinguished from many other heroes, by being admitted into the community of the celestial or Olympian gods. Both these orders of deities the people were required to worship by Numa; which is a demonstration that, in his time, notwithstanding his prohibition of images, (which had been before allowed,) the Romans acknowledged mortal gods. This agrees with what has been observed concerning the Germans, Persians, and Phenicians at Ga-

perunt. Et hi quoque a tempore esse cœperunt certo, et, in numero numinum, sacrorum ad cæremonias invocari. — The natural gods were called *eternal*; (Diod. Sic. p. 14.) and to these Varro refers when he says, Deos alios esse, qui ab initio certi et sempiterni sunt. He adds, Alios, qui *immortales* ex hominibus facti sunt. Servius on Virg. *Æn.* VIII. 275. — It is impossible to admit the eternity of the *ancient gods of heaven*, because they were translated thither from the earth; as will be shewn immediately.

des,

des, who worshipped human spirits, though they had no images.

The law of Numa, just now cited, became a law of the twelve tables^{*}, and remained in force in all succeeding times. From hence it follows, that human spirits were, in every age, worshipped at Rome, and even were the principal objects of the established worship in that city. For the *ancient gods of heaven*, spoken of in the laws of the twelve tables, were no other than the following twelve superior gods of the Romans,

Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars, Mercurius, Jovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo[†];

and these were the same with the twelve superior gods of the Greeks, who were proved in the last section to be no other

^{*} Laws of the twelve tables, tab. 2. sect. 4.

[†] These gods were often simply called *the twelve gods*. They were termed *celestial* and *Olympian*; and, both in Greece and at Rome, were considered as gods of the highest rank and dignity. They were worshipped in conjunction. We read of the *altar of the 12 gods*. Plutarch. in *Nicia*, p. 531. F. and of a supper called δωδεκαθεος. Sueton. August. 70.

than

than deified men and women. All the arguments, used to establish the humanity of the one, conclude equally with respect to the other. I shall here produce some proofs of the human origin of the twelve gods of the Romans, which will confirm what has been already offered concerning those of the Greeks.

Cicero, the most learned as well as eloquent of all the Romans, who had paid particular attention to the subject of the heathen theology, and was himself a priest of high rank, contends,
“ that the whole heaven was almost en-
“ tirely filled with the human race ;
“ that even the superior order of gods,
“ or gods of the greater nations, were
“ originally natives of this lower
“ world, as could be proved from
“ the writers of Greece ; that their se-
“ pulchres were shewn openly in that
“ country ; and that the traditions con-
“ cerning them were preserved in the
“ mysteries.”

“ mysteries ‘.” If these facts had not been too notorious to be concealed, Cicero would not have appealed to them in this open manner ; knowing, as he did, the discredit it brought upon the public religion. He himself has put the following language into the mouth of Cotta : “ Are not those void of all
 “ religion, who teach, that the brave,
 “ illustrious, and potent, amongst men,
 “ become gods after death ; and that
 “ these very persons are at this time the
 “ objects of our prayers and solemn
 “ worship “ ?”

* Quid ? totum prope cœlum, ne plures persequar, nonne humano genere completum est ? Si vero scrutari vetera, et ex his ea, quæ scriptores Græciæ prodiderunt, eruere coner ; ipsi illi, majorum gentium dii qui habentur, hinc a nobis profecti in cœlum reperientur. Quære, quorum demonstrantur sepulchra in Græcia : reminiscere, quoniam es initiatus, quæ traduntur in mysteriis : tum denique, quam late hoc pateat, intelliges. *Tusc. Quæst. l. i. c. 12.*

“ Quid ? qui aut fortes, aut claros, aut potentes viros, tradunt post mortem ad deos pervenisse, eosque esse ipsos, quos nos colere, precari, venerarique soleamus, nonne expertes sunt religionum omnium ? *Cicero. Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 42.*

St.

St. Austin ^w confirms the testimony of Cicero, when he says : “ You cannot
“ find, or can hardly find, in all the
“ writings of the Heathens, any gods
“ but such as had been men ; neverthe-
“ less to all of them they pay divine
“ honours, as if they had never be-
“ longed to the human race.” And,
though Varro endeavoured to apply what
is related of the twelve superior gods,
and many others, to the parts or ele-
ments of the world, yet St. Austin says,
they were discovered to have been men ^x.
And, indeed, if the twelve superior gods
had not been such, how came it to pass
that six men *viz.* Hercules, Bacchus,

^w Non attendunt, in omnibus literis paganorum, aut non inveniri, aut vix inveniri deos, qui non homines fuerint ; omnibus tamen honores studeant exhibere divinos, quasi nihil unquam humanitatis habuerint. August. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26.

^x Ipsi etiam majorum gentium dii, quos Cicero, in Tusculanis, tacitis nominibus videtur attingere, Jupiter, Juno, Saturnus, Vulcanus, Vesta, et alii plurimi, quos Varro conatur ad mundi partes sive elementa transferre, homines fuisse produntur. Id. ib. c. 5.

S Æsculapius,

Æsculapius, Castor, Pollux, and Quirinus, were raised to the same rank with the twelve? Cicero speaks of Romulus, and many others, as *received into heaven, just as new citizens are enrolled amongst the old*^r; and, consequently, as becoming entitled to equal privileges with the ancient celestial gods. According to Pindar, Hercules dwelt with Jupiter^z; and both are represented together, on old altars, with this inscription, *To the great gods*^a. And very probably there was no greater difference^b, between the new and the old gods of heaven, than what might subsist

^r Romulum nostri habent, aliosque complures, quos quasi novos et ascripticios cives in cœlum receptos putant. Cicero, Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 15.

Romulus in cœlo cum diis agit ævum.

Ennius, ap. Cicer. I. Tusc. Q. c. 12.
Bacchus and Hercules were stiled *Olympian*. Diodor. Sic. l. 4. p. 261.

^z Υἱος Αἰκμηνας, ος Ολυμπονδ' εβα. — Νυν δὲ παρ' Αἰγιοχώραν. Pindar. Isthm. Od. IV. 94, 99.

^a See above, p. 173. note ^s, p. 174. notes ^x and ^y.

^b The difference that was made between the old and new celestial gods was sometimes to the advantage of the

subsist between the old gods themselves.

Three of the latter (*viz.* Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva) seem to have been more distinguished by the Romans^c than the other nine. They were the *penates* or guardian deities of the Roman state and people^d. And though Macrobius,

S 2

as

the latter. — Quid? Apollinem, Vulcanum, Mercurium, cæteros, deos esse dices: de Hercule, Æsculapio, Libero, Castore, Polluce, dubitabis? At hi quidem coluntur æque atque illi; apud quosdam etiam multo magis. Cicero, Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 18.

^c Particularly by Cicero, in the close of his speech against Verres: *Nunc te, Jupiter, Optime, Maxime, teque, Juno regina, et Minerva!* And by Livy, l. 3. §. 17. Jupiter, Optimus, Maximus, Juno regina, et Minerva, alii dii deæque, obfidentur. Concerning these three deities Tertullian is supposed to speak: Ante has tres aræ trinis diis parent, *magnis, potentibus, valentibus.* De Spectac. c. 4.

^d Macrobius styles these three deities *penates*. Saturn. l. 3. c. 4. And Livy, (l. 3. §. 17.) after mentioning Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, in his account of the Capitol's being besieged, adds, *Castra servorum publicos vestros penates tenent.* Jupiter is called by Cicero *custos hujus urbis*, in Catil. l. 3. §. 162. The same title is given to Minerva. Id. Orat. pro Domo, 57. And Juno is

as a philosopher, explains the *penates* physically °, as he also does the other heathen gods; yet Servius says, *that they were human souls, which, by certain ceremonies, were converted into gods* †. As to the office which the Romans assigned to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, as their guardian deities and preservers of the empire, they assigned the same to those emperors whom they represented on the reverse of the medals of these three deities ‡.

is stiled *conservatrix* in ancient inscriptions. Gruter, p. 25. These three deities were joined together in the Capitol. Spence's *Polymetis*, p. 58. note 53. — Livy (l. III. 17.) distinguishes the *penates* into *private* and *public*.

° *Penates esse dixerunt, per quos penitus spiramus, per quos habemus corpus, per quos rationem animi possidemus. Esse autem medium æthera Jovem, Junonem verò imum aëra cum terrâ, et Minervam summum ætheris cacumen.* Macrob. *Saturnal.* l. 3. c. 4.

† According to Servius, (*Æn.* III. 168.) Labeo, in *libris qui appellantur de diis animalibus*, (quibus origo animalis est,) ait, *esse quædam sacra, quibus animæ humanæ vertantur in deos, qui appellantur animales, quod de animis fiant.* Hi autem sunt dii *penates* et *viales*. — See August. *Civ. Dei*, l. 9. c. 11.

‡ See Spence's *Polymetis*, p. 58. note 53.

As three of the twelve gods were more honoured by the Romans than the other nine, so one of these three (*viz.* Jupiter) had some pre-eminence assigned him above the other two. He was generally stiled, the BEST and the GREATEST^h. But Cicero, who gives him both these titles, does nevertheless rank him, as we have seen, amongst the natives of this lower world. Besides the general proofs, produced here and in the preceding section, to shew that the whole band, of which Jupiter was chief, were of human descent, there is distinct evidence that he himself in particular was considered in this view by the Romans, as well as by the Greeks. At Rome, as well as in Greece, he was described as the son of Saturn. In the very Capitol they placed the statue of his nurse, and gave him the shield called *ægis*, because made of the skin of

^h Jupiter a majoribus nostris *optimus maximus* dicitur. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 25.

the she-goat which afforded him nourishment¹. In the Capitol likewise they placed a cushion or pallet on which he might repose^k himself, and provided for him a magnificent entertainment^l. These circumstances, repugnant as they are to every rational conception of the Creator

¹ Quid de ipso Jove fenserunt, qui ejus nutricem in Capitolio posuerunt? Quid illic facit scutum illud Jovis, quod appellant *ægida*? August. Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 7. De Conf. Evang. l. 1. c. 23.

^k In Jovis epulo, num alibi quam in Capitolio, pulvinar suscipi potest? Liv. V. 52. — Habent dii lectos; atque, ut stratis possint mollioribus incubare, pulvinorum tollitur atque excitatur impressio. Arnob. adv. Gentes, p. 238.

^l Jovis epulum cras est. Jupiter enim cœnat, magnisque implendus est dapibus, jamdudum inedia gesticulans, et anniversaria interjectione jejunos. Id. ib. — Mactant opimas ac pingues hostias Deo, quasi esurienti; profundunt vina, tanquam sitienti. Lact. Div. Inst. l. 6. c. 2. See also c. 1. — This practice was founded upon an ancient opinion, that the ghosts of the dead really fed upon the provision carried to their tombs. See Athenæus, p. 427. and Kennett's Roman Antiquities, p. 361. and Potter's Antiq. vol. 2. p. 251, 257. — When their bodies were burned, it was customary to throw bread into the funeral pile. Terence, Eunuch. III. 2. 38. Catull. Carm. 60.

of the universe, accorded with their notion of gods that had been men ; who, in the other world, were supposed to stand in need of the same accommodations which had been agreeable or useful to them in this ; and were accordingly supplied with them by their survivors.

Besides the gods already specified, the Romans had others of the same earthly origin. *Janus*, to whom they always offered the first sacrifices^m, and whom they addressed first in all their prayersⁿ, was an ancient king of Italy^o, who had this precedence in their worship, because he was the first who built temples, and instituted the ceremonies of

^m Janē, tibi primo thura merumque fero. Ovid. Fasti, I. 171. See note P below.

ⁿ Janus — quem in cunctis anteponitis precibus. Arnob. adv. Gent. l. 3. p. 117. — See also Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 9. p. 158.

^o Janum cum Saturno regnasse memoravimus. Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 9. init. — See below, notes, ^s, ^w, ^x, ^a,

religion^p. We are told by Plutarch, that he was said to have changed the savage nature of man into a gentle and social disposition; and that his being represented with two faces had a reference to these two different forms and conditions of human life^q. As to the physical explications of this god, they are various and contradictory; for he is said to be the *chaos*, the *world*, the *year*, the *sun*, and many other things^r. He might be explained as a symbol of whatever the human fancy could suggest: but the received history^s of him exhibited him

^p Xenon, primo Italicon, tradit Janum in Italia primum dis templa fecisse, et ritus instituisse sacrorum; ideo eum in sacrificiis præfationem meruisse perpetuam. Macrob. ubi supra.

^q Plutarchi Numa, p. 72. — Macrobius (ubi supra) says: Quidam ideo eum dici bifrontem putant, quod et præterita sciverit, et futura providerit.

^r See Arnob. p. 117. Macrob. Sat. l. i. c. 9. Ovid. Fasti, l. 103.

^s Arnobius (p. 117.) pleads that the physical explications destroyed the literal history of Janus; *quem ferunt, Cælo atque Hecata procreatum, in Italia regnasse primum, Janiculi oppidi conditorem: — atque ita per vos dei nomen eraditur.*

under

under the character of a king, who had divine honours decreed to him for his merit towards his subjects ^t. Even *Saturn* (before whom, Tertullian observes, the Heathens had no god at all, and from whom they began their reckoning of all their gods, not excepting those of the greatest distinction) is spoken of in history no otherwise than as a man ^u. He arrived in Italy in the reign of Janus, and became a partner of his kingdom ^w.

^t Regnante Jano, omnium domos religione et sanctitate fuisse munitas : idcircoque ei divinos honores esse decretos. Macrobi. Sat. l. i. c. 9.

^u Ante Saturnum deus penes vos nemo est. Ab illo census totius, vel potioris, vel notioris, divinitatis. Itaque quod de origine constiterit, id et de posteritate conveniet. Saturnum itaque, quantum literæ docent, neque Diodorus Græcus, aut Thallus, neque Cassius Severus, aut Cornelius Nepos, neque ullus commentator hujusmodi antiquitatum, aliud quam hominem promulgaverunt. Tertullian. Apol. c. 10. See above, p. 252. note ^q.

^w Hic igitur Janus, cum Saturnum classe pervectum excepisset hospitio, et, ab eo edoctus peritiam ruris, ferum illum et rudem ante fruges cognitæ victum in melius redegisset, regni eum societate muneravit. Macrobi. Sat. l. i. c. 7. p. 151.

Under

Under his equitable administration, no one was a slave, and all things were common: which was the reason why, in the Saturnalia, slaves sat down with their masters, and all people were on a level *. Tertullian, in proof of Saturn's being a man, urges the Romans' ascribing to him the invention of writing, and coining money with the king's image †. Others relate, what equally serves our purpose, that Janus, the first money he stamped, impressed on one side the image of himself, and on the other a ship, in memory of Saturn, who came to Italy by ship ‡. It was also in honour of Saturn that Italy was called

* Rex Saturnus tantæ justitiæ fuisse traditur, ut neque servierit sub illo quisquam, &c. Justin. l. 43. c. 1.

† Ab ipso primum tabulæ, et imagine signatus nummus, et inde ærario præfideat. Tertull. Apol. c. 10.

‡ Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 7. p. 151. Ovid. Fasti, l. 235-240. — From this circumstance it appears, that Saturn, though he reigned in Italy, was a foreigner. Pezron maintains, that he was that Saturn who was the son of Uranus, the first king of the Titans, and who reigned over Europe, Asia, and part of Africa. *Antiq. of Nations*, b. 1. ch. 10.

Saturnia^a. Now, if the ancestor of the gods was a man, we cannot be at a loss to know what his descendents were^b.

That religious worship, which the Romans and other heathen nations paid to dead men, was not confined to such eminent persons as those already mentioned; but seems, in some degree, to have been extended to all. I say nothing of the philosophers who taught, that *the souls of men were demons*^c. It is more material to our present purpose to observe, that the civil theology, the public institutions of religion, and the current language, were founded upon the general belief of the same opinion. The dead were denominated *dii manes*; as appears from the testimony of the ancients^d, and the inscription upon their

^a Italia, regis nomine, *Saturnia* appellata est. Justin. ubi supra. — See also Tertullian, Apol. c. 10.

^b See p. 265. note ^u.

^c Plotinus, cited below, note ^z.

^d Varro dicit, omnes ab his mortuos existimari manes deos. August. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26.

sepulchral monuments^e. Some learned men indeed have maintained, that the *dii manes* were certain gods who took care of souls or ghosts; but the phrase does not import “the gods of ghosts,” but “the gods ghosts”; and the use and application of it in ancient writers determine it to this sense^f. Some of the

^e The inscription was, D. M. or Dis Manibus.

^f The following passages in Virgil clearly shew that the word *manes* is applied to ghosts. *Stant manibus aræ.* *Æn.* III. 63. — *Manisque vocabat Hæctoreum ad tumulum.* 303. — *Nocturnos ciet manis.* IV. 490. See also 387. — *Manisque Acheronte remissos.* V. 99. — *Magna manis ter voce vocavi.* VI. 506. — In the same sense is the word used by Juvenal. *Esse aliquos manes, et subterranea regna.* Sat. II. 149. — Hence *manes* is put for the place of the dead: *Manesque profundi,* Virg. *Geor.* I. 243. and for the remains of the deceased, either his corpse or his bones and ashes: *Nunc non e manibus illis — nascentur violæ?* Persius, Sat. I. 38. Those who thought the soul perished with the body said, we should become *cinis, et manes, et fabula.* Ver. 152. — Horace speaks the same language: *Fabulæ manes.* L. I. Ode IV. 16. — *Manes* cannot have a different meaning when the word *dii* is joined with it. The following passage of Horace is a proof of this point:

Petamque

the philosophers limited the word *manes* to good ghosts^s; but it seems to have been applied to all ghosts, both in

Petamque vultus umbra curvis unguibus :

Quæ vis deorum est manium. Epod. V. 93.

Compare Virg. *Æn.* IV. 385-388. When Seneca says, (Ep. 86.) *In ipsa Scipionis Africani villa jacens, hæc tibi scribo, adoratis manibus ejus*, does he not mean that Scipio himself, or his ghost, was the object of his worship? See the next note.

^s *Manes animæ dicuntur melioris meriti, quæ in corpore nostro genii dicuntur. Servius, on Virg. Æn. III. 63.* But this learned commentator mistakes in ascribing this sentiment to Apuleius; who, after saying that the good ghosts were called *lares*, and the mischievous ones *larvæ*, adds, *Cum vero incertum est quæ cuique eorum fortitio evenerit, utrum lar sit, an larva; nomine manem deum nuncupant. Scilicet et honoris gratiâ dei vocabulum additum est. Quippè tantum eos deos appellant, &c. De Deo Socrat. tom. 2. p. 689. ed. Delph. — Plotinus taught, Animas hominum dæmonas esse, et ex hominibus fieri lares, si meriti boni sint; lemures, five larvas, si mali: manes autem cum incertum est bonorum eos, five malorum, esse meritorum. August. Civ. Dei, l. 9. c. 11. — Those who considered the manes as good ghosts made them the same as the lares. In lucis habitant manes piorum, qui lares viales sunt. Servius on Æn. III. 302.*

common

common life ^h, and in performing the rites of religion ⁱ. — It is not only from the *titles*, given to the deceased, that we may infer a belief of their divinity; the same conclusion may be drawn from the *religious* rites ^k instituted in their honour, which were performed every day ^l, and more especially on the ninth ^m and on the thirtieth ⁿ day after their interment. They were likewise appeased annually, for twelve days

^h In this general sense *manes* is used by Ovid, *Fasti*, V. 422.

Inferias tacitis manibus illa dabunt.

See above, note ^f.

ⁱ Cum dixit novies, Manes exite paterni. *Id. ib.* 443.

^k Above, p. 249. note ^e.

^l In Plautus's *Aulularia*, *Prolegom.* the lar says,
Huic filia una est; ea mihi quotidie,
Aut ture, aut vino, aut aliqui, semper supplicat.

^m The *feriæ denicales* were observed on the ninth day, and therefore called *novemdiales*. See Jacobus Gutherius, *de Jure Manium*, l. 1. c. 15. in tom. 12. of Grævius's *Rom. Antiq.* and the authors cited in the next note.

ⁿ If the reader wants proofs of what is so well known, he may consult Bos's *Antiq. of Greece*, ch. 24. p. 433. and Potter's *Antiq.* v. 2. p. 258.

together,

together, with sacrifices and expiations^o, attended with feasts and games^p. The seasons appointed for these solemnities were stiled *holy-days*: and from this circumstance Cicero concludes, that the ancients reckoned amongst the gods those who were departed out of the present life^q. In honour of persons of rank, their friends made libations of wine, and invoked their manes, while their funeral-piles were burning^r. Children consecrated their parents^s; and

^o See Potter's Antiq. v. 2. p. 258, 260. Kennett, p. 360.

^p Potter, ib. p. 247, 257. Kennett, p. 304, 360.

^q Nec verò tam denicales, quæ a nece appellatæ sunt, quia residentur mortui, quam cæterorum cœlestium quieti dies, *feriæ* nominarentur, nisi majores eos, qui ex hac vita migrassent, in deorum numero esse voluissent. Cicero de Legibus, l. 2. c. 22.

^r Homer. II. XXXIII. 220. Æschyl. Chæphor. v. 86, 128.

^s See Festus, in verb. *Feralia*, Guther. de Jure Manium, l. 2. c. 12. and Ovid. Fasti, l. 4. v. 533-570.

Est honor et tumulis; animas placate paternas.

—— Parva petunt manes.

Here *manes* answers to *animas paternas*.

swore by their ashes^t, which were deemed sacred. Now, an oath is a religious act; and supposes the deity, to whom it appeals, to be both our witness and our judge. The fore-mentioned customs were of great antiquity in the heathen world.

And it was upon the principles of the ancient theology that the Roman people deified their emperors^u. Temples and altars were erected to them while living^w,

^t Ossa tibi juro per matris et ossa parentis.

Propert. l. 2. Eleg. 13.

Ego fame morientem videbo, per cujus cineres juratus sum? Seneca pater, l. 1. Controv. 1. Guther. ubi supra, p. 1170. — Parents also consecrated their children. See Cicero's reason for consecrating his daughter, ap. Lactant. l. 1. c. 15. or in Cicero's works, tom. 3. p. 581. ed. Olivet. Genevæ. Ad opinionem omnium mortalium consecrabo.

^u See the form of consecration, in Kennett, p. 363. and more fully in Alexander ab Alexandro, tom. 2. p. 446.

^w Præsenti tibi maturos largimur honores,

Jurandasque tuum per nomen (al. *numen*) ponimus aras. — Horat. Ep. II. 1.

See also Virg. Ecl. I. 6. Horat. l. III. Ode III. 10. Ode V. 2. Sueton. Vit. August. c. 52.

as well as after their deaths. The Romans transferred the distinguishing attributes of their principal deities to the statues of their emperors. To put Jupiter's fulmen in the hand of the statue of Augustus was to acknowledge him ruler of the universe^x. In a coin, in honour of Titus, *Jupiter, born in Crete*^y, is placed amongst the stars^z. The emperors and their images were objects of equal worship with the ancient gods of heaven; nay, the former were distinguished by a superior reverence; for it was more safe to swear falsely by the genius of Jupiter than of the king^a.

The custom of deifying great princes was no innovation of the Romans; but

^x Apelles had the same meaning when he drew Alexander's picture with a thunderbolt in his hand. Plutarch. *Is. et Osir.* p. 360.

^y ΖΕΥΣ Κρηταγενής. ^z Marsham's Chron. Can. p. 248.

^a Sic eorum (principum) numen invocant, ad imagines supplicant, genium, id est, dæmonem ejus, implo rant; et est eis tutius per Jovis genium pejerare quam regis. Minuc. Fel. in Octavio, c. 29. See also Ter tullian. *Apol.* c. 27, 32.

was an old superstition, which had taken such deep root in the minds of men, that even the christian emperors permitted themselves to be addressed, *as gods adored by the nations, to whom the whole world preferred their public and private vows, and from whom the mariner asked a calm, the traveller a safe return, and the soldier victory*^b. And so far were these imperial profelytes from being offended with such impious flattery, that they themselves arrogated the titles and ho-

^b Even Theodosius the Great, so celebrated for his piety, was addressed in the following terms: — *Illud dicam quod intellexisse hominem et dixisse fas est talem esse debere (imperatorem) qui a gentibus adoratur, cui toto orbe terrarum privata vel publica vota redduntur, a quo petit navigaturus serenum, peregrinaturus reditum, pugnaturus auspicium.* Filesfacus de Idololatria Politica, p. 17. — Symmachus (l. x. ep. 21. quæ ad Theodosium et Arcadium Augustos) uses the following language: — *Præcipua quidem beneficia numinis vestri populus Romanus expectat, divi imperatores. Sed ea quasi debita repetit, quæ æternitas vestra sponte promittit.*

nours

nours of divinity^c. Theodosius, indeed, admonished his subjects to reserve for the supreme God the homage which exceeded the rank and dignity of men^d: a very necessary admonition, as the heathen emperors had made no such distinction, but assumed the most sacred titles, as well as received the most solemn worship. Domitian, when he dictated the form of a letter to be used by his procurators, began it thus: *Our LORD and GOD thus commands us*^e. These titles are

^c Sed imperatores Christianos vel divinitatis vel numinis appellationem sibi adrogasse quis ferat? Nostram divinitatem dixere imperatores Theodosius et Valentinianus, l. 3. Cod. de Summ. Trinit. *Nostrum numen* was used by Honorius and Theodosius, l. viii. & l. xi. Cod. de Sacrosanctis Eccles. — Theodosius suum numen vocat. Cod. Theodos. l. xi. tit. 1. l. xxxiii. — Et miramur dum hæc legimus in Novella Anthemii, A. tit. 1. — Julia quædam preces nostris fundat altaribus. Filefacus, p. 9, 10.

^d Excedens cultura hominum dignitatem supremo numini reservetur. Theodosius, in Theodos. Cod. L. tit. iv.

^e Cum procuratorum suorum nomine formalem dictaret epistolam, sic cœpit: *Dominus et deus noster sic fieri jubet*. Sueton. Vit. Domitian. c. 13.

the very same with those by which the Gentiles described their supreme Jupiter^f.

It is needless to¹ produce any farther evidence of the worship of mortal gods amongst the Romans. It has now been proved, by an induction of particulars, that the same worship was established in all the nations polished by learning, and also in the far greater part of those nations usually stiled barbarous. The distinct proofs of this point, collected from all quarters of the globe, do mutually receive and reflect light upon one another.

It deserves particular notice, that the testimonies, produced in the foregoing sheets, not only establish the fact, that dead men and women were worshipped in the heathen nations, but do farther prove, that many of these human personages were worshipped in all the civilized nations of the earth, if not in many others,

^f Compare the language of the Atlantians, cited above, p. 243, note w.

as their *greatest* gods, and with the most sacred and august ceremonies^g.

It is still more remarkable, that several of the ancient writers cited above, though they could not be ignorant that the heathens regarded the elements and heavenly bodies as real divinities, do nevertheless affirm, that *all*, or *almost all*, their gods had once belonged to the human race.^h These writers cannot be speaking of some obscure tribes of Barbarians, who are said to worship only the lights of heaven; but manifestly refer to the gods of the most celebrated nations, which had propagated their religious creed and ceremonies over the largest part of the then known world. And the language in question is to be farther limi-

^g To the testimonies already cited we may add the following: — Quos auguste omnes sancteque venerantur. Cotta ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 21. — Cum vero et mares et foeminas complures ex hominibus in deorum numero esse videamus, et eorum in urbibus atque agris augustissima delubra veneremur, &c. Cicero ap. Lactant, l. 1. c. 15. p. 67.

^h See above, p. 223, 224, 255, 257, 265.

ted to the objects of the popular and established worship in these nations. Under these limitations, the proposition holds true in general, and with comparatively few exceptions, that all the heathen gods had been men. The witnesses produced were competent judges of the fact they attest; and, even supposing them to be mistaken in their opinion, yet what a late writer* affirms cannot be true, that *all the world knew, that the heathen gods had never been men*. The Heathens did certainly believe the contrary; but our author was totally unacquainted with their sentiments on this subject.

* Fell, p. 110.

C H A P. III.

*Containing GENERAL proofs of the
worship of human spirits in the
ancient heathen world.*

TH E proofs of this species of idolatry, adduced in the two preceding chapters, chiefly respect particular nations; but those which will be farther offered are of a more general nature, and almost equally respect the far greater part of the ancient world. They will be drawn from two sources: from the testimonies of the ancients, and from certain uncontroverted facts.

S E C T. I.

General proofs of the worship of human spirits amongst the Heathens, drawn from the TESTIMONIES of the ancients.

I WILL here distinctly examine the testimonies of the Heathens themselves,

T 4

whether

whether poets, philosophers, or historians; and afterwards those of the christian Fathers.

I. The heathen POETS, with whatever lofty titles they dignify the objects of the established worship, do nevertheless record their births, parentage, and kindred; represent them as standing to one another in the same relations, of fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, which subsist among mankind; ascribe to them the same distinction of sexes, and the same appetites and passions, which belong to human nature, as well as all those vices which most disgrace it. They attribute to them the external forms of men and women; describe their complexion, apparel, and ornaments; and relate their wars, their wounds, their chains, their ages, their lamentations, and their deaths. These several particulars are so well known, that it cannot be necessary to support them by passages from the poets; especially as they are sufficiently warranted by the language
which

which Cicero has put into the mouths of Velleius and Balbus, cited belowⁱ. Equally needless would it be to shew, either that the preceding descriptions of the gods are not applicable to the elements and heavenly bodies ; or that, on the other hand, they do entirely correspond to the nature and condition of the human race^k. As to Jupiter, the supreme

ⁱ Poetæ; — qui et ira inflammatos, et libidine furentes, induxerunt deos ; feceruntque, ut eorum bella, prælia, pugnas, vulnera, videremus ; odia, præterea, dissidia, discordias, ortus, interitus, querelas, lamentationes, effusas in omni intemperantia libidines, adulteria, vincula, cum humano genere concubitus, mortalesque ex immortalibus procreatos. De Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 16. — Formæ nobis deorum, et ætates, et vestitus ornatusque noti sunt : genera, præterea, conjugia, cognationes, omniaque traducta ad similitudinem imbecillitatis humanæ. L. 2. c. 28. — The argument from the human form of the gods will be considered when we speak of their images.

^k See the preceding note ^a. — As to Homer in particular, Cicero (Tuscul. Disput. l. 1. c. 26.) says, he ascribed to the gods the qualities peculiar to men, — humana ad deos transferebat : which answers to Plutarch's ἐξανθρωπιζοντι τα θεα, and to another expression, απο των θεων επ' ανθρωπου μεταφερουσι, when he is describing those

preme god of the poetical theology, he differed from others only as a father from his children, or as a sovereign from subjects of the same nature¹.

We

those who taught, that the gods had been men. If. & Osir. p. 360. A. p. 359 E.

¹ To what has been observed concerning *Homer's* Jupiter in Dissert. on Mir. p. 176, 177. and above, p. 242, 243. I must add, that, though the poet compliments him with the title of *the father of gods and men*, yet, agreeably to the antient theogonies, he calls Oceanus *the parent of the gods*; Ωκεανον τε θεων γενεσιν, και μητερα Τηδυν. Il. 14. v. 201. See Dr. Clarke's note, and Virg. Georg. iv. 382. — According to *Hesiod*, (Theogon. v. 453, 490.) Jupiter was the youngest son of Rhea and Saturn. The same poet represents him as addressing the gods, not as his own offspring, but as *the offspring of earth and heaven*. Κεκλυτε μεν, Γαιης τε και Ουρανυ αγλαα τεκνα. V. 443. — In *Virgil*, Jupiter is sublimely described as summi regnator Olympi, Æn. vii. 558, as divûm pater, and hominum divûmque æterna potestas, x. 2, 17. It is said of him, torquet fidera mundi, ix. 93; cœlum ac terras numine torquet, iv. 296. Nevertheless, according to this poet, Jupiter was nursed upon mount Ida in Crete, Creta Jovis magni, iii. 104. and was the son of Berecynthia, or Cybele, the mother of the gods: Ipsa deûm fertur genetrix. O genetrix, quo fata vocas, ix. 82, 83, 93, 94. Alma parens Idæa deûm, x. 252. Cybele herself

We are told^m, indeed, that it *both been affirmed, by very great names, that fiction and LYING are inseparable from poetry*: a position, I imagine, which no one can seriously undertake to defend. Nevertheless, as many, both of the ancient and modern advocates of the heathen religion, when at a loss to support it's credit, have pretended that it was greatly corrupted by the fictions of the poets, I shall offer a

herself also was a Cretan: Hinc mater cultrix Cybele, iii. 111. — According to *Horace*, that very Jupiter, qui mare et terras variisque mundum temperat horis, was ortus Saturno. Lib. i. Ode 12. v. 15, 50.

—— I shall only take notice of one poet more, viz. *Ovid*, who joins Jupiter and Augustus together: Jupiter arces temperat ætherias; terra sub Augusto. Pater est et rector uterque. Metamorph. l. 15. v. 859. The term *pater* was not appropriated to Jupiter, and often denotes only a ruler. According to *Ovid*, (Metamorph. l. xi. v. 221.) Jupiter was divinely warned against indulging his passion for Thetis, lest he should have a son greater than himself, who would dethrone him as he had dethroned his father Saturn. — Thus are the sublimest descriptions of the Jupiter of the popular and civil theology given us by the poets, intermingled with the plain characters of his humanity.

^m Fell, Introduction, p. xiv.

few general observations upon this subject, though with a peculiar view to the question now before us.

I. Poetry was, perhaps, both the most ancient and the most admired species of composition. The laws of the Turdetani, said to be the oldest inhabitants of Spain, were written in verse, six thousand years, as they affirmed, before the age of Strabo^a. The first institutes of religion likewise were probably written in the same manner. And the verses, in both cases, might be designed merely to assist the memory in learning and retaining the rules established for the direction of their political and religious conduct, or to recommend the subjects by the charms of poetry. To answer these ends, there was no more reason to have recourse to fiction with respect to one of these subjects than the other. Were the many interesting relations, concerning the Roman gods and goddesses, contained

^a Strabo, l. 3. p. 204.

in *Ovid's Fasti*, ever deemed suspicious, merely because that most learned and useful of all his works was not written in prose?

2. It was not the province of the poets, *as such*, to assign to any man a place in heaven, and to erect temples and altars in his honour. Romulus, for example, was not indebted for his deification to Virgil, or Horace, or Ennius, or any more early poet, but to the senate and people of Rome. Nor was the case different as to the other gods taken from amongst men: for it was to the legislature, in conjunction with the priesthood^o, that they were indebted for their supposed advancement to heaven, and for the worship paid them upon the earth.

^o There were certain rites, which, most probably, were performed by the priests, by which human souls were converted into gods. See Servius, cited above, p. 260, note ^f. — Arnobius, p. 87, says, *Etruria libris in Acheronticis pollicetur, certorum animalium sanguine numinibus certis dato, divinas animas fieri, et ab legibus mortalitatis educi.*

3. The proper province of the poets, under their peculiar character, was to celebrate the praises of the gods. If, in the discharge of this office, they embellished the subject with some colouring of their own, and exceeded the truth; (on which side their temptation lay;) what is the most natural inference from hence? Surely not that they degraded their gods into men, but that they exalted men into gods^p.

4. Accordingly, those Heathens, who were most offended with the poets, do not charge them with inventing the doctrine of the humanity of the gods. Diodorus Siculus, at the very time that he reproaches Homer, Hesiod, and Orpheus, with framing very monstrous fa-

^p Quibus igitur credemus, si fidem laudantibus non habemus? Lactant. l. 1. c. 9. p. 38. — Illi (sc. poetæ) de hominibus loquebantur: sed ut eos ornarent, quorum memoriam laudibus celebrabant, deos esse dixerunt, Id. l. I. c. xi. p. 46. See more to the same purpose, p. 47, 48, &c. c. 19. p. 81, 82. & in tom. 2. c. 11, 12. p. 8, 9. ed. Dufresnoy.

bles concerning them¹, represents the most ancient theologers as asserting the existence of gods that were of earthly origin¹.

5. The reason why Diodorus, Socrates, Plato, and others, represent the absurd and immoral stories concerning the gods as mere inventions of the poets, is not any positive evidence of the fact, but a desire of preserving the credit of religion and the morals of the people, which were in danger of being destroyed by the profligate characters and examples of the objects of their worship¹.

6. It is indeed absurd, at least when we are speaking of very ancient times, to oppose the theology of the poets to that of the philosophers, divines, magistrates, and priests: for they all made one body together. In Britain and Gaul

¹ Τερατολογεῖσθαι μύθος περὶ θεῶν πεπλάκασιν. Diodor. Sic. Fragm. tom. 2. p. 633. ed. Weßeling.

¹ The passage will be cited below, under the third article, where the historians are spoken of.

² See August Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 27. l. 6. c. 5. Platon. oper. p. 429, 430. ed. Lugd. p. 1590.

they

they were included in the common denomination of Druids[†]. This junction of the bards, with those who framed, established, and administered, the public religion, is a demonstration that the theology of both must be the same, and supported by the authority of the state. Indeed, in such high reputation were the ancient poets, that Plutarch appeals to their authority in the same manner as he does to that of the philosophers[‡]; and joins them with the oldest theologers[§]. Socrates^x, Plato^y, and others^z, speak of them as the divinely inspired prophets of the gods. The same idea of them was, it is probable, generally entertained in

[†] Strabo indeed distinguishes the Bards from the Druids, l. 4. p. 302, but the former were probably an order of the latter. See the writers upon the Druids.

[‡] Plutarch. Amatorius, p. 770. A. B.

[§] Οἱ μὲν σφόδρα παλαιοὶ θεολογοὶ καὶ ποιηταί. De Orac. Defect. p. 436. D.

^x Platon. Apol. Socrat. p. 360. G.

^y Io, p. 145.

^z Dio Chrysostom, Orat. 36. p. 447. Lutetiae, 1604.

Οἱ θεοὶ ποιηταὶ μαθόντες ἐκ Μουσῶν, κ. τ. λ.

the early ages of the world ; and consequently their writings would be regarded as the canonical system of religion. A subversion of this ancient system, after it had taken strong hold of the passions and prejudices of mankind, the poets of latter ages were not able to effect, nor even likely to attempt^a.

7. As to those poets in particular, whose writings have been preserved from the injuries of time, it is as unreasonable to accuse them as their predecessors of inventing or corrupting the civil theology. Herodotus thought that Hesiod and Homer were the persons who *framed*

^a Sed poetarum, inquiunt, figmenta sunt hæc omnia, et ad voluptatem compositæ lusiones. Non est quidem credibile homines minus brutos et vetustatis remotissimæ vestigatores, aut non eas inferuisse suis carminibus fabulas, quæ in notionibus hominum superessent, atque in auribus collocatæ ; aut ipsos sibi tantum licentiosi voluisse juris adsciscere, ut confingerent per stultitiam res eas, quæ nec ab insania procul essent remotæ, et quæ illis ab diis metum, et periculum possent ab hominibus, comparare. Arnob. adv. Gent. p. 148, 149. Lugd. Bat. 1651.

a theogony for the (use of the) Greeks^b.

But it will not follow from hence that it was their invention. It is much more probable, that they framed it upon the principles of the theology of Egypt and Phœnicia, whose gods were introduced into Greece by Cecrops and others, long before the time of these poets^c. For any thing that appears to the contrary, the theogonies of Hesiod and Homer may be as faithful records of ancient traditions as those of Sanchoniathon, or Berosus, or any other prose writer. With

^b Οἱ ποιησαντες Θεογονίαν Ἑλλήσι. Herodot. l. 2. c. 53. Did the historian at this instant forget that Orpheus and Musæus were older theogonists than Hesiod and Homer? or did he reject the works ascribed to them as spurious?

^c Epiphanius, Hæres. l. 1. §. 7. See the Dissertation de vita, &c. Hesiodi, prefixed to Robinson's ed. p. xv. It may be observed, that, whether the public religion of Greece was formed upon the poems of Homer and Hesiod, or (which is more probable) whether their poems were formed into a correspondence to the public religion, they are, on either supposition, to be considered as authentic *standards* whereby we are to regulate our judgement concerning it. Would Homer's hymns have been sung in the public festivals of the gods, if his theology had not corresponded to that of the state?

regard

regard to *epic* and *dramatic* poets, they cannot, without great impropriety, deviate from the customs of the ages of which they write; the merit of their works consisting very much in their being accurate representations of life and manners^d. The propriety of the speeches, which they frame for the persons introduced into their compositions, is to be wholly determined by their agreement with the known characters and principles of the speakers. To make the speakers contradict the commonly-received sentiments concerning the gods would be more than an impropriety or an absurdity: it would be deemed profaneness, and shock the prejudices of mankind. Whenever therefore the poets, of whom we are now speaking, use the liberty of embellishment, their very fictions must be conformable to the received standard of the public religion. Who, then, can doubt whether Homer's fables

^d Dissert. on Mir. p. 188, 189.

concerning the heathen gods were founded in popular legends and ancient traditions ? As to Virgil, he almost everywhere discovers the most exact knowledge of antiquity*, and more especially in describing the religious opinions and customs of it. Nor are more authentic monuments of them any where to be found than in the writings of the two great poets of Greece and Rome.

8. Lastly, the account, given of the heathen gods by the poets, did, in fact, constitute both the popular and civil theology, or the religion received by the people and established by the laws. We have already seen, that there is every reason to suppose this to have been the case ; and that reasoning is confirmed by the testimony of the most credible writers.

The people, we are informed, were more disposed to adopt the doctrine of the

* *Multæ antiquitatis hominem sine ostentationis odio peritum.* Aul. Gellius, l. v. c. 12.

poets than any physical interpretations^f, and regarded their writings as the rule both of their faith and worship^g. Even the most absurd fables, such as Cœlus's being castrated by his children, Saturn's devouring his, and Jupiter's imprisoning his father, were understood literally, and received by the people with implicit faith, in Greece as well as other countries^h.

U 3 The

^f Varro dicit, de generationibus deorum, magis ad poetæ quam ad physicos fuisse populos inclinatos. Ap. August. Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 32. — Quod de diis immortalibus philosophi disputant ferre non possunt: quod vero poetæ canunt, et histriones agunt, — libenter audiunt. August. de Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 5.

^g Dio Chrysostom, p. 447, having asserted the inspiration of the most ancient poets, says, that by them men were persuaded to erect altars to Jupiter under the character of king. Οἱς περὶ τομενὸς οἱ ἀνδραποῦς Διὸς βασιλεὺς ἰδρυοῦνται βωμοί.

^h Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Antiq. Rom. l. 2. c. 18, 19, 20. — Cicero has put the following language into the mouth of Balbus. Vetus hæc opinio Græciam opplevit, scilicet exsectum Cœlum a filio Saturno, vinctum autem Saturnum ipsum a filio Jove. Balbus ap. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 24. After speaking
of

The worship appointed by the laws was conformable to the poetic theology, and founded upon it. The games instituted, and the plays acted, by the authority of the magistrate, in honour of the gods, and with the express design of rendering them propitious, represented or imitated all those flagitious actions which were ascribed to them by the poetsⁱ, and which reflect most dishonour on human nature. Nay, it was a dangerous heresy to reject the fabulous or poetical theology^k. Socrates mentions his rejection of the grossest fables as the ground of the accusation against him^l, which cost him his life. Now, from this agreement of the popular and civil theology with the poetical, we may infer,

of the fables of the poets at large, Balbus says, *Hæc et dicuntur et creduntur stultissime*. *Ib.* c. 28.

ⁱ This subject is handled to advantage by Austin, *de Civ. Dei*, l. 2. c. 25, 26, 27. l. 4. c. 26. l. 6, c. 5. and by Arnobius, l. 7. p. 238. See also l. 4. p. 140, 149, 150.

^k *Luciani Philopseud.* tom. 2. p. 328.

^l *Platon. Euthyphro*, tom. 1. p. 6. ed. Serrani.

that

that the representation, made by the poets of the human origin of the gods, is a proof that the objects of the established worship in the gentile nations had once been men.

The painters and sculptors convey to us the same idea of the heathen deities as the poets: for they represent them under human figures, both male and female. The image even of the catamite, Ganymede, and the effigy of the eagle which carried him up to heaven, were placed in the public temples under the sanction of the magistracy and priesthood, and proposed to the people as objects of their adoration equally with Jupiter himself^m. Is there a more absurd and immoral fable in the poets than the rape of Ganymede, which nevertheless we find made a part

^m Ita enim deorum simulacra confingunt, ut ex ipsâ diversitate sexûs appareat vera esse quæ dicunt poetæ. Nam quod aliud argumentum habet imago catamiti, et effigies aquilæ, cùm ante pedes Jovis ponuntur in templis, et cum ipso pariter adorantur, nisi ut nefandi sceleris et stupri memoria maneat in æternum? Lactant. l. 1. c. 11. p. 48. ed. Dufresnoy.

of the public religion? Most unreasonable, therefore, is it to treat this or any other fable as a fiction of the poets, merely on account of it's absurdity and immorality. The gods of the poets and those of the magistrates were the sameⁿ; and therefore, as the former were of human origin, the latter must be so likewise.

II. The PHILOSOPHERS are to be considered in two views: as persons who had opinions of their own concerning the gods; and as persons capable of testifying what the gods publicly worshipped really were.

As to their own opinions concerning Deity, they were infinitely various. Some would not allow there were any gods at all; others not only asserted the existence, but had formed many just and elevated conceptions, of the divine being;

ⁿ Hence that observation concerning Zeno, that his physical interpretation of Hesiod's theogony overturned the established notions of the gods. *Tollit omnino præceptas insitasque cognitiones deorum.* Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 14.

and

and were offended with the vicious qualities ascribed to the objects of popular worship. Many would neither allow the conversion of human souls into demons, nor the existence of demons of a higher origin; while several contended for both. But the religious creed of the philosophers cannot be the proper standard whereby to judge of the civil theology. The former was for the most part utterly subversive of the latter. For this reason it was that the Dissertation* spoke of the necessity of using caution in reading the philosophers, and declared, in terms, "that we had there no concern with their speculations." The question agitated in that place respected only the immediate objects of the established worship in the heathen nations; and therefore could have no relation to any gods or demons held only by the philosophers^p. Nevertheless a late writer has confounded these very different deities together.

* On Mir. p. 189, 190.

^p See above, p. 4-7.

Some proofs having been offered¹ of the humanity of the Jupiter, or supreme deity, of the popular and civil theology, a known parricide and usurper; the gentleman², after citing the noblest description of Deity given us by Socrates³, adds, *Whether this be a proof, "that the "supreme Deity of the Pagans had once been "a mortal man," we leave our readers to judge.* If we form our judgement of Mr. Fell by this language, we must conclude, that he did not know the difference between the Jupiter, or supreme deity, of the Pagans, worshipped *in their temples*, and him acknowledged only by *the philosophers*; though the Heathens have clearly distinguished the one from the other, as Seneca has done in the

¹ Dissert. p. 176, 177.

² Fell, p. 104.

³ Mr. Fell, p. 104, very improperly refers to Xenophon the description of deity given by Socrates, though the former professes merely to relate the sentiments of the latter. Memorabil. l. 1. c. 4. §. 2. l. 4. c. 3.

passage cited below[†]. By the same rule of judging, our author was even ignorant that Socrates opposed (and suffered death for opposing) the commonly-received notion of the gods, and of Jupiter in particular, as one who put his father in chains[‡]; and that this great innovator in religion was formally charged with *introducing new gods*[§]. Mr. Fell's objection proceeds on the strange supposition, that the theology of Socrates was the same with the popular and civil. Should any one assert that the established doctrine of the church of England is *trinitarian*, would it be a pertinent objection against this assertion to allege that Newton and Clarke were *unitarians*? Equally foreign from the point is the method taken by Mr. Fell to discredit the truth of the account I had gi-

[†] Ne hoc quidem crediderunt, Jovem, *qualem in capitolio et in cæteris ædibus colimus*, mittere manu fulmina, sed *eundem quem nos Jovem intelligunt*, custodem rectoremque universi. Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. 2. c. 45. See also Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 4.

[‡] Platon. Euthyphro, p. 2. ed. Serrani.

[§] Id. ib. p. 6.

ven of the gods of the civil theology, and of Jupiter in particular, by shewing that Socrates, who was known to dissent from that theology, acknowledged a deity that had never been a man. Scarce could the gentleman have shot wider of the mark, had he taken pains to miss it.

But, though the present question does not properly concern the gods and demons of the philosophers, yet it may be fitly determined by their testimony concerning the objects of national worship. They were certainly competent judges, whether the heathen nations worshipped such gods as had been men: for they had the best means of information concerning the religion of the respective ages and countries in which they lived, and they had studied the subject with particular attention.

Many positive testimonies of the philosophers to the public worship of human spirits were referred to in a former publication ;

cation^{*}; and several were cited at large[†], particularly that of Cicero[‡], which represents almost all the gods, and even the greater deities, as having been men. These testimonies, important and decisive as they are, a late writer has passed over in perfect silence[§]; which is the more remarkable, as, according to the account which he himself has given of the

* Differt. p. 191-193. See also p. 182, 183.

† P. 192.

‡ Nay, the gentleman's language is manifestly calculated (though it might not be designed) to mislead his readers into an opinion, that no such testimonies had been produced. Speaking of the philosophers, he says, *Introduction*, p. xiv. "It seems unreasonable to EXCLUDE the writings and opinions of *the most learned and judicious* from what immediately relates to their own times and to the sentiments of those amongst whom they lived." And though afterwards, at some distance, he adds, in general terms, that "*I very freely admitted their information, whenever I thought it advantageous to my own cause*;" his readers would never from hence infer, that I had availed myself of their information in the particular case, in which his language more than insinuates it had been *excluded*, and in which, he pretends, the philosophers were on his side of the question.

philosophers,

philosophers, they were the most proper judges^a of the fact which they attest.

To the testimonies of the philosophers to the general worship of human spirits, formerly produced, others have been occasionally added in the two preceding chapters^b. I will not repeat them in this place, however pertinent, but only confirm them by a few more passages of the same import.

Callisthenes, when he was opposing the deification of Alexander while living, affirms “ that this favour was *always* “ granted to great men by posterity^c”. Balbus also speaks of it as *a general custom* to exalt to heaven such excellent men as had deserved well of the public^d. And
the

^a See the preceding note.

^b See p. 151, 256, with many other places.

^c Intervallo opus est, ut credatur deus, *semperque* hanc gratiam magnis viris posterī reddunt. Q. Curtius, l. 8.

c. 5.

^d Suscepit vita hominum, consuetudoque communis, ut beneficiis excellentis viros *in cælum* fama ac voluntate tollerent. Ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 24. — It is scarce necessary to observe, that, in the language of the
Heathens,

the learned Pliny informs us, “ that to
“ requite such men, by ranking them a-
“ mongst the gods, was a custom of *the*
“ *highest antiquity*”. He adds, “ that
“ the names of *all* the other gods, and
“ of the stars, are derived from men
“ of distinguished merit”.

Nor was this the mere effect of private
gratitude, but the appointment of the
state. *The law, says Cicero, which com-*
mands those who were consecrated from a-
mongst men to be worshipped, shews that the
souls of all men are immortal, but that those
*of the brave and good are divine*⁵. Seneca;

in

Heathens, to be an inhabitant of heaven, and to be a
god, are the same thing. Concerning Berecynthia, the
mother of the gods, Virgil says,

Læta deûm partu, centum complexa nepotes ;

Omnes cœlicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes.

Æn. VI. 786.

* Hic enim est *antiquissimus* referendi bene merentibus
gratiam mos, ut tales numinibus adscribantur. Plin.
l. 2. c. 7.

† Quippe et omnium aliorum nomina deorum, et quæ
supra retuli fiderum, ex hominum nata sunt meritis.

‡ Quod autem ex hominum genere consecratos, sicut
Herculem et cæteros, coli lex jubet, indicat omnium
quidem

in like manner, draws a proof of the immortality of the soul *from the agreement of mankind in either fearing or worshipping the shades below*^h. This language of Seneca may be explained and confirmed by the testimony of Apuleiusⁱ, when he represents the ghosts of evil men as mischievous; but those of the wise and good as gods that were honoured with temples and religious ceremonies. It is recorded of Pericles, who might be called a philosopher as well as a statesman, that, in a funeral oration, (in which he was not likely to contradict the popular opinion,) he represented those who die in defence of their country as becoming immortal as the gods were^k. Other testi-

quidem animos immortales esse, sed fortium bonorumque divinos. Cicero de Legibus, l. 2. c. 11.

^h Cum de animarum immortalitate loquimur, non leve momentum apud nos habet consensus hominum, aut timentium inferos aut colentium. Seneca, ep. 117.

ⁱ De deo Socrat. p. 689, ed. Paris. cited in letters to Worthington, p. 38.

^k Ap. Plutarch. Vit. Periclis, p. 156. D. Ἀθανάτους εἰπερ γίγνεται, καθάπερ τῆς θεας.

monies

monies¹ to the humanity of the popular gods might be produced.

But it is sufficient to observe, in general, that all the different sects of the philosophers establish this fact. Would the *epicurean*^m and *academic*ⁿ philosophers employ the whole force of their wit and satire against the worship of dead men, if it had not been practised by their countrymen and contemporaries? The *Stoics*, though they had recourse to a physical explication of the fables, allowed that they were literally understood by the people°. And their explications were condemned by the other sects as unnatural and absurd in the highest degree; so

¹ Particularly that of Varro; which will be cited when the *games* instituted in honour of the gods will be considered.

^m In the person of Velleius, ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 15.

ⁿ In the person of Cotta, ib. c. 42.

° Balbus ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 24.

as rather to establish than destroy the credit of the fables^p.

The Platonists, and those who wished to conceal from public view the earthly origin of the gods,^q though they asserted the existence of celestial demons; yet knew that these demons were not the objects of the established worship^r. And, after all their vain attempts, by their system of demonology, to support the credit of the public religion, they found it necessary to espouse the principle upon which it was really grounded, the conversion of human souls into gods: a principle that was also held by the Sto-

^p Cotta ap. Cicer. N. D. l. 3. c. 23. cited above, p. 70. note 7. Velleius also censures the stoical explication of the fables as *delirantium somnia, non philosophorum iudicia*, l. 2. c. 16. See also c. 14. cited above, p. 296. Cotta reproaches the Stoics with making those who were called *gods* merely natural things. *Eos enim, qui di appellatur, rerum naturas esse, non figuras deorum.* L. 3. c. 24. comp. l. 1. c. 42.

^q See above, p. 159, in the notes.

^r See above, p. 234.

ics', by Plutarch', and by the theistic" philosophers in general. Nay, they undertook to defend it as agreeable to right reason, and not merely as a political institution^w; and accordingly recommended the worship of human spirits^u. The philosophers laid a farther foundation for this worship, by teaching that an intercourse between the celestial gods and men was carried on by the mediation of demons of terrestrial origin, who hereby became the more immediate objects of divine worship, as was shewn elsewhere^x.

So that the philosophers, some by their attacks upon the public religion,

^s See Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 24.

^t See above, p. 165-167, and p. 234. Dissert. on Mir. p. 182. See also his life of Romulus, near the end.

^u As to Plato, see Dissert. on Mir. p. 191.

^w See the authors referred to in the two preceding notes. Even Cotta thought it not improbable that the souls of eminent men were *divine and eternal*. Ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 5.

^x Dissert. on Mir. p. 175.

others by their defences of it, and all by their concessions and testimonies, establish in the fullest manner the fact in question, the general prevalence of the worship of mortal gods amongst the ancient Heathens. And their language, for the most part, asserts or implies, that these gods were the principal objects of their religious worship^r.

III. The heathen HISTORIANS, besides bearing testimony to the worship of human spirits in particular countries, furnish general proofs of the prevalence of this worship amongst the ancient Heathens.

Diodorus Siculus, in a fragment preserved by Eusebius, informs us^z, *that those*

^r Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 42. l. 3. c. 21.

^z Περὶ θεῶν τοίνυν διτλῆς οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς μεταγενετέροισι δέδωκασιν ἐννοίας. Τῆς μὲν γὰρ αἰδὸς καὶ ἀφάρτης εἶναι φασιν, οἷον ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κατ' ἔξαντον ἀεὶ· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ἀνέμους, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς τῆς οὐρίας φύσεως τούτοις τετευχότας. Τούτων γὰρ ἕκαστον αἰδῶν ἔχειν τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὴν διαμονήν. Ἐτέρας δὲ λεγόντων ἐπιγινώσκειν γένεσθαι θεούς, διὰ δὲ τὰς εἰς ἀνθρώπου εὐεργεσίας ἀθανάτου τεύχεσθαι τιμῆς καὶ δοξῆς, οἷον Ἡρακλέα, Διόνυσον,

those of the highest antiquity delivered to posterity two opinions respecting the gods. Some, they said, were eternal and incorruptible, such as the sun, moon, and other stars; the winds also, and things of a similar nature; none of which have either beginning or end. They also maintained, that, besides these, there were terrestrial gods, who were worshipped for the benefits conferred upon mankind, such as Hercules, Bacchus, and Aristæus, and others.

This testimony of Diodorus is confirmed by one of the most curious remains of antiquity. I refer to the treaty made between Hannibal and the Carthaginians on the one part, and Xenophanes, the Athenian, minister-plenipotentiary of Philip, king of Macedonia, in his own name and that of the Macedonians and their allies, on the other. The treaty expresses, that it is solemnly entered into

συν, Ἀρισταίων, καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς τῆς τοιαύτης οἰκῆς. Diodor.
Sic. Fragm. p. 633, tom. 2. ed. Wesfeling.

X 3 and

and ratified^a in the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo: in the presence of the demon of the Carthaginians, and Hercules, and Iolaus: in the presence of Mars, Triton, Neptune: in the presence of the gods who accompanied them in the expedition, and of the sun, and the moon, and the earth: in the presence of the rivers, and the meadows, and the waters: in the presence of all the gods who preside over Carthage: in the presence of all the gods who preside over Macedonia and the rest of Greece: in the presence of all the gods who preside over the affairs of war, and are witnesses to the present oath and engagement^b.

We

^a Εναντίον Διός, καὶ Ἡρᾶς, καὶ Ἀπολλωνοῦ· ἐναντίον δαιμονος, κ. τ. λ. Polyb. Hist. l. 7. p. 699. tom. i. Amstel. 1670.

^b Virgil, who is to be considered as an eminent antiquarian as well as poet, has given an account of an oath taken by Æneas, (after he had sacrificed to the *manes*,) which agrees in a great measure with the oath cited from Polybius. He swears by the sun and earth, by fountains and rivers, as well as by Juno, Jupiter, and Mars. Æn. XII. 173, 176, 181. Compare also the oath of Latinus, v. 195-200. In their solemn oaths they

We have here an authentic document of the *civil* theology of the nations of Asia, Europe, and Africa; more particularly of the *Carthaginians*; and consequently of the *Phenicians*, from whom they were descended; of the *Macedonians*; of the *Greeks*; and, in one word, of all the parties to the treaty, together with their confederates and allies. And if we suppose, what seems very probable, that the treaty was drawn up after the old forms, it shews us what gods had been acknowledged in all these nations in very early times.

The deities whom the treaty particularly specifies are, first of all, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Apollo*; illustrious human personages, who by the general consent of mankind had been advanced to divine honours, and were worshipped as gods of the highest order. Their being placed here in the foremost rank is very agreeable to what we have before proved, that some they sometimes swore by all the gods. Homer. Il. III. 276, 298.

men and women were honoured as the greatest gods. These deities were common to all the parties concerned in the treaty^c. The gods next mentioned are, the *tutelary deity of the Carthaginians*, (whose name was probably kept secret to prevent his evocation,) and *Hercules*, and his nephew and assistant, *Iolaus*^d, who no doubt were held in peculiar veneration at Carthage. Nothing need be said to prove the humanity of these gods; nor of those who are spoken of immediately after them, *Mars*, *Triton*, *Neptune*^e: objects of general worship.

The

^c On the *communes dii* the reader may consult the commentators, and particularly Servius, on Virgil, *Æneid* VIII. 275. XII. 118. That Hercules was one of them appears from the passage here first referred to, *communem vocate deum*. The penates of different countries were often the same. Virgil (*Æn.* III. 15.) speaks of the *focii penates* of Thrace and Troy.

^d The son of Iphiclus, one of the Argonauts. Hyginus Fab. 14. p. 33.

^e Neptune and Mars have been spoken of before. As to Triton; he, who was said to appear to Jason in a human form near the lake Tritonis, was a prince in that place,

The treaty farther makes mention of *the gods who accompany the expedition*, that is, whose images^f are carried with the army. These are not particularly named; but the description here given of them marks the class to which they belonged. The divinities next specified are those stiled *natural* by the philosophers: *the sun, the moon, the earth, the rivers, the meadows, and the waters*. The objects of nature are here distinguished from all the foregoing deities, particularly from Jupiter, Juno, Mars, and Apollo. And therefore, though the last is so often said to be the sun, and all of them have been represented as na-

place. Bannier's Mythol. V. 4. B. 3. ch. 3. p. 50-52. Engl. Translat. See V. 1. p. 117, but especially V. 2. p. 511, 512.

^f What gods were represented by images will be shewn in the sequel. Eusebius speaks of the gods which the army of Licinius carried with them as νεκρων ειδωλα θανοντων εν αψυχοις αγαλμασι. Vit. Constantini, l. 2. c. 16. p. 544. These were the camp gods, or dii militares, spoken of by Tertullian, Apol. c. 10. p. 11. where they are ranked amongst those that had been men.

tural

tural gods, yet they belonged to a different class; and the physical explication of them could not be agreeable to the *civil theology* of the ancient nations, which was the real creed of the vulgar, and the religion professed by all orders of the state. As to the natural objects themselves here enumerated, it does not clearly appear, from this passage, that the civil theology considered them so much as being possessed of internal divinity, as being inhabited by presiding deities.* The latter view, indeed, was not inconsistent with the former; and the divine presidents and the things presided over are often confounded. Lastly, the treaty makes general mention, both of the *guardian deities of Carthage, Greece, and Macedon*, who could be no other than the princes and heroes by whom these states and kingdoms were founded; and of the *gods who pre-*
side

* See below, p. 318, note ^m.

side over the affairs of war, of whom the principal was Mars².

I could not avoid taking this notice of the oath of Hannibal and Xenophanes; because it throws light upon our subject, and has, I think, been overlooked by all other writers upon it whom I have happened to consult. But it is, I presume, needless to cite farther general testimonies to the worship of human spirits from the historians, as many proofs of this point were produced from them when we were distinctly shewing that such worship prevailed in the several nations of the world. I must, however, make one farther remark.

The heathen religion entered into all those public concerns which are the province of history; it was interwoven with the constitution of states and kingdoms, and influenced all their councils and operations. If any law was to be enact-

2 ——— Tuque, inclyte Mavors,
Cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques.
Virg. Æn. XII. 179.
ed ;

ed; if any war was resolved upon, or concluded; if any city was besieged or taken; if any signal calamity was suffered, or blessing received; the gods were consulted, supplicated, and appeased, by various ceremonies and sacrifices; and their imagined interposition in favour of their votaries was acknowledged by paying them the honours vowed in the day of danger and distress. Hence it comes to pass that the religion of the ancient nations was so much intermixed with their civil history,

Now to those who are acquainted with antiquity I leave it to determine, whether the gods, to whom they decreed divine honours, statues, temples, altars, priests, sacrifices, festivals, and all the apparatus of divinity, on the foregoing or other public occasions, were solely, or even most usually, *ether, air, fire, water, the earth, the sea, the sun, and moon*. Herodotus, during his long residence in Egypt, was curious and inquisitive

sitive concerning the gods and religious ceremonies of the Egyptians ; yet where has he spoken of the temples, priests, and rites, of the stars and planets, amongst that people^h ?

We find, I allow, the Greeks, and Romans, and others, addressing prayers to the sunⁱ, or swearing by it^k. At Rome a temple was erected to the sun and moon^l; and the same thing might be done in other places. But the idea of these celestial luminaries, which the mythology (on which the civil theology was founded) conveyed to the people, was

^h Even the learned Jablonki, though it so ill agrees with his own system, acknowledges, — Herodotus, — de planetarum templis, sacerdotibus, et sacris, nihil quicquam tamen unquam adfert. Estque etiam, præter eum, vix scriptor alius, qui de cultu planetarum apud Ægyptios vel tantillum nos doceat. Tom. 2. Prolegom. §. 27. p. lxiii.

ⁱ See Dido's prayer to the sun and the other gods, Virg. Æn. IV. 607.

^k Virg. Æn. XII. 176. Homer. Il. III. 277. Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus, v. 674, 675.

^l Rosinus, Antiq. Roman. p. 122.

very

very different from that entertained of them by the philosophers, who considered them as natural divinities^m.

^m The *theologers* make mention of several suns. One was the son of Jupiter; another, the son of Hyperion; a third sprang from Vulcan; a fourth was born of Acantho; and a fifth was the father of Æta and Circe. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 21. In different nations, the sun was thought to be Belenus, Osiris, Heliogabalus or Elagabal. The last was a Syrian deity, of whom it is said, that he appeared to Aurelian in a human shape, and was married to the goddess Urania. His worship was first introduced into Rome by his votary Heliogabalus, though a temple had been erected to Sol many ages before. See Dion. Cass. V. 2. p. 1338, 1339, 1367, ed. Reimari. The English reader may consult Crevier's Rom. Hist. V. 8. p. 228, 229. V. 9. p. 157. and Universal Hist. V. 15. p. 353. Now all these views of the sun are very different from those given of it by the philosophers, and, instead of confuting, confirm our main doctrine.

As to the other natural divinities, the fields, for example; they were not so properly the immediate objects of public worship as the gods and goddesses, who were considered as the presidents and guardians of the fields.

Dique deæque omnes, studium quibus arva tueri.

Virg. Georg. I. 21.

But this subject cannot be farther prosecuted in this place.

It

It will, I apprehend, be found upon examination, that, according to the historians, the public devotion was principally directed towards gentilitial, tutelary, and local, deities, the guardians of particular nations and people, such as had been the objects of their former care; and to those *greater gods* whom we have before proved to be men. It is with an account of their worship that history so much abounds. Hence many of the Heathens affirmed, that their gods were not gods by *nature*, but by *art* and *certain laws*; and were different in different countries, according to the appointment of legislators.ⁿ.

From the several foregoing testimonies of the pagan poets, philosophers, and historians, we may conclude, that the more immediate objects of the established

ⁿ Θεῶς, ὡ μακάριε, εἶναι πρῶτον φασὶν οὗτοι τέχνη, οὐ φύσει, ἀλλὰ τισὶ νόμοις· καὶ τούτῃς ἄλλης ἄλλοις, ὅπῃ ἕκαστοι ἑαυτοῖσι συνωμολόγησαν νομοθετημένοι. Plato de Legibus, l. 10. p. 889. E. ed. Serrani.

worship,

worship, in the idolatrous nations, were, for the most part, dead men and women ; unless you can suppose that the Heathens of every class and order, and in every age, conspired to give a false account of their own gods and demons. And, though the custom of appealing to the sun and moon, and other gods stiled natural, was on some occasions still preserved, yet the objects of those appeals, according to the civil theology, were not properly the elements and heavenly bodies themselves, as conceived of by the theistic philosophers, but rather human spirits, as will be shewn at large hereafter.

It ought not however to be concealed, that a very learned writer has attempted to destroy the force of this argument. He allows, indeed, that the pagan gods were not only supposed by christian writers *to have been deified mortals, who were worshipped in the countries where they died ; but that this was the opinion of the Heathen themselves,*

themselves, the very people by whom these gods were honoured: yet still, adds our author, it is a MISTAKE°.

It is certainly no small presumption of the truth of the account, given in the preceding sheets, of the opinion the Heathens entertained concerning their own gods, that it is, in this explicit manner, confirmed by a writer whose extensive knowledge of antiquity cannot be disputed; especially as that account militates so strongly against his own hypothesis.

At the same time I cannot easily persuade myself, that the whole gentile world, not excepting the most enlightened nations of it, and the most illustrious sages that adorned it, and who had made the civil theology their particular study, lay under such a strange delusion, with respect to their gods, as to believe they were deified mortals, and natives of the countries where they were wor-

• Bryant, Mythol. V. i. p. 454, 455.

shipped, if in reality they were not so. As far as mere authority is concerned, that of any modern writer, whatever his learning and abilities may be, can, in this case, have no weight, when set against the sentiments of the Heathens, who had not merely superior advantages for forming a right judgement on the point, but certain information concerning it, and who indeed could not be mistaken in their opinion respecting the plain matter of fact, viz. that those, to whom they paid divine honours, were princes and heroes whom they themselves had deified. Waving, therefore, on this occasion, Mr. Bryant's authority, let us proceed to consider the force of his reasoning.

It is not credible, says our author^p, however blind idolatry may have been, that people should enshrine persons as immortal, where they had the plainest evidence of their mortality, that is, at their tombs. The

^p Ib. p. 452.

Gentiles believed, that the souls of virtuous men, after the dissolution of their bodies, became immortal gods^a; and on this ground paid them divine honours. As to the reason of worshipping them in the places where they were buried, it will be taken notice of in the next section^r; and will, I am persuaded, occur, on a moment's recollection, to Mr. Bryant.

It is farther urged^s, that, *if divine honours were conferred, they were the effects of time.* This was not the case always^t; as appears from the history both of popish and pagan idolatry: and facts cannot be overturned by any speculative reasonings. But indeed, at what time was it more likely that the superstitious part of mankind should pay divine ho-

^a Differt. on Mir. p. 182, 214. Comp. Bryant, V. 1. p. 455.

^r At the end of the 1st article.

^s Bryant, V. 1. p. 452.

^t Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 2. c. 5. p. 70. cited under the 4th article of this section, p. 344.

nours to a hero than immediately after his death, when the admiration of his godlike endowments, the remembrance of his recent benefits, and the glory of his illustrious exploits, were fresh in their minds; and while their passionate grief, for the loss they had sustained, almost unavoidably transported them beyond the bounds of reason? After their respect and affection were cooled by time, it would not be so easy to kindle their devotion. Again,

The gentleman objects", that *Varro, according to Tertullian, makes the Jupiters in number three hundred, and mentions forty heroes of the name of Hercules. Our author allows, that many mountains were called by the name of Olympus*". But does this prove there was no such mountain? Is it at all incredible, that different men should be called by the same name? Or can the fact in question be vouched by a better authority than Var-

" V. i. p. 457. See also p. 453, 454.

" P. 239.

ro? His opinion is in a great degree confirmed by other writers^{*}.

But it is said^y, men are not agreed *when* Jupiter lived. On a point of such high antiquity as the age of the first Jupiter can we wonder there should be a difference amongst the learned? They were the more likely not to agree on this point, as several persons were called by the name of Jupiter who lived in different ages. The case was the same in other instances. Different heroes bore the name of Hercules, for example, who were neither of the same age nor country: which has introduced much confusion into their history. This confusion has been increased by their ascribing to

^{*} See above, p. 246, in the note. It is shewn, in Cic. de N. D. l. 3. c. 16, 21, 22, 23, that there were many gods who bore the name of Hercules, several Jupiters, Suns, Vulcans, Mercurys, Æsculapii, Apollos, Dianas, Dionysi, Venuses, Minervas, and Cupids. Nor was it an unusual thing for every king to be called Jupiter. Reges omnes *δῖας*, reginas vero *θεῖας*, appellari fuit solitum. Tzetzes, upon the authority of Ptolemy. Ap. Lactant. l. 1. c. 8. in the concluding note, ed. Dufresnoy.

^y P. 457-460.

the later heroes of one country the virtues and exploits of the more ancient heroes of another^z. Mr. Bryant himself says, *It is to be observed, that, when colonies made any where a settlement, they ingrafted their antecedent history upon the subsequent events of the place^a: that the Greeks adopted all foreign history; and supposed it to have been of their own country^b: and that their original history was foreign, and ingrafted upon the history of the country where they settled^c*. These observations not only remove the objection we are here considering respecting the age in which Jupiter lived, but another difficulty also on which great stress is laid^d, viz. that the heroes of one

^z Diodorus Siculus, l. iii. p. 243. ed. Weff. takes notice of three heroes who bore the name of Bacchus, and of the same number of eminent persons who were called Hercules, the last of whom was the son of Jupiter by Alcmena. The historian adds, that the exploits of the two former were solely ascribed to the last, as if there had never been more than one Hercules. Ως ενος Ηρακλεως γεγονOTOS εν παντι τω προτερον αιωνι. See also l. i. p. 28. and Bryant, V. 2. p. 57 & seq.

^a Preface, p. xii. xiii. ^b Mythol. V. 1, p. 175.

^c P. 178, ^d P. 459.

country

those persons who had not obtained a *just* funeral^g, but also for those who had such a funeral in another place; of which we find frequent mention in Pausanias, who speaks of such honorary tombs dedicated to Euripides, Aristomenes, Achilles, Dameon, Tiresias, and others^h. At these tombs, though the bodies of the deceased were not deposited in them, their ghosts were invoked, and these invocations were thought to bring them to the habitations prepared for themⁱ. Sacrifices also were offered, and libations poured

^g The ghosts of men unburied were thought to wander in misery for a hundred years, unless an empty sepulchre was erected to them. Potter's Gr. An. V. 2. B. 4. c. 7. p. 245. See Virg. *Æn.* VI. 371.

^h Potter ubi supra, & Guther. de Jure Manium, 1. 2. c. 18. — Sæpe in tumulis sine corpore nomina legi. Ovid. *Metamorph.* l. 11, v. 429.

ⁱ With this view Æneas invoked the ghost of Deiphobus:

Tunc egomet tumulum Rhæteo in litore inanem
Constitui, et magna manes ter voce vocavi.

Virg. *Æn.* VI. 505.

Ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, et ingens
Adgeritur tumulo tellus: stant manibus aræ.
Inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte,

Sanguinis

ed out, to their ashes^k. It was customary in the most early ages to raise sepulchres to persons of eminent merit, merely to preserve their memory and perpetuate their fame. Hence it came to pass, that the same person often had many sepulchres erected to him in different places^l. There might well therefore be a difference

Sanguinis et sacri pateras : animamque sepulchro
Condimus, et magna supremum voce ciemus.

Æn. III. 62.

Pelias *recalled* to his native country the soul of Phryxus, who died abroad. Pindar. Pythia, Ode IV. v. 284. See the next note.

^k Virgil says of Andromache :

Libabat cineri Andromache, manisque vocabat
Hectoreum ad tumulum : viridi quem cespitem inanem
Et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacra verat aras.

Virg. Æn. III. 303.

Concerning Drusus, who was buried in the Campus Martius, Suetonius speaks in the following terms : Cæterum exercitus honorarium ei tumulum excitavit : circa quem deinceps statim die quotannis decurreret, et Galliarum civitates publice sacrificarent, *al.* supplicarent. Vit. Claudii, c. 1. See Virg. Æn. III. 62-68, cited in part in the preceding note.

^l Vetustissimi moris fuit in honorem amici ac bene meriti cujuscumque viri sepulchrum illi statuere. Non quod

difference of opinion amongst the Heathens about the real places where those men were buried, whom they so highly esteemed as to exalt into the rank of gods. At the same time, the very contention, between different cities and countries, for the honour of having their tombs, shews that all were agreed in this one point, that their gods were men who had died and been buried.

Some have urged the *absurdities* of the fables concerning the heathen gods with the same view as Mr. Bryant does their *inconsistencies*. But shall we deny the existence of the popish saints, merely because their history is filled with legendary stories as void of sense as they

quod conditi essent illic ejus cineres atque ossa: sed memoriæ tantum id tributum, illustrandique ejus nominis gratia. Qua e re contigit ejusdem persæpe viri diversis in locis plura etiam sepulchra inveniri. Jovian. lib. de Mag. apud Pet. Morestel. Pompa Feralis, l. 10. c. 1.

The custom of raising vacant sepulchres was very ancient, as appears from the mention of them in Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 505. IX. 214, 215. Homer also makes mention of a cenotaph, or honorary tomb, *Odyss.* IV. 584.

are

are of truth? Many events that have really happened have, as Pausanias^m observes, been rendered incredible by those who have raised a superstructure of lies upon them. Besides, the absurdity of the heathen fables concerning their gods is the less to be wondered at, as some of those fables might have a latent meaning, and were not to be literally understood. To return to our author.

He urges a farther objection against the human origin of the gods, drawn from the character of the Helladian and other Greek writers, who asserted it. According to him, *the Grecians, who received their religion from Egypt and the east, misconstrued every thing that was imported, and added to these absurdities largely. They adopted deities to whose pretended attributes they were totally strangers.*ⁿ *The writers of Greece did not know the purport of the words which were found in their ancient hymns.*^o *The greatest part of the Grecian theology arose from*

^m Pausanias, Arcad. p. 601.

ⁿ V. 1. p. 306.

^o P. 85. See p. 252.

misconceptions

misconceptions and blunders; and the stories concerning their gods and heroes were founded on terms misinterpreted and abused^p. They mistook the Hebrew word caben, which signifies a priest, for the Greek kuon, and misconstrued it a dog^q: they changed Omphi-El (which, according to our author, signifies oracle of the sun) into omphalos, a navel^r: and, so little did they understand their own language, that, from the word ταφος, (taphos,) which they adopted in a limited sense, (that is, as signifying a tomb,) they formed a notion of the gods having been buried in every place where there was a tumulus to their honour^s. They formed personages out of the names of towers and other edifices^t; and out of every obsolete term^u; they constantly mistook titles for names, and from these titles multi-

^p P. 453. See below, p. 336, where the reader will find more of Mr. Bryant's censures of the Grecians.

^q See p. 329-352. Why might not the Egyptians worship dogs as well as other animals? You have no more reason to set aside the testimony of the antients in the one case than in the other.

^r P. 240. ^s P. 453. ^t V. 2. p. 1. ^u V. 1. p. 82.

plied

plied their deities and heroes^w. Out of every title they made a god^x; and mistook temples for deities^y.

Our author might have made shorter work with the Grecians, and called them at once perfect idiots. But it seems it was only with respect to the subject of religion, on which their sentiments differed from his, that they discovered such a total want of understanding. *In all other respects*, he admits, *they were the wisest of all the sons of men*^z. This commendation renders his censure very improbable.

The improbability of the censure will appear still greater, if you consider who were the first founders of the Grecian theology. They were the natives or inhabitants of Syria or Egypt^a; who came

^w V. I. p. 176.

^x V. I. p. 307.

^y V. I. p. 175. Comp. p. 444, 445.

^z V. I. p. 245.

^a See above, p. 210, and Bryant, V. I. p. 182-186. The Helladians themselves, he says, came from Egypt and Syria, p. 150.

with colonies into Greece, settled in that country, and there established their own religion with the assistance of the priests who always attended such expeditions. * They afterwards superintended the religion which they planted. Let every reader judge whether, under such instructors, the Greeks could fall into those gross mistakes which are here imputed to them, but of which no proof is produced.

Moreover, if we inquire carefully into the matter of fact, we shall find, that the Greeks did not misconstrue every thing imported from Egypt and the east: for the general system of religion in these several countries was the same^c, and their notions of the gods were not very different. Nay, the gentleman himself allows, “ that all *the rites* of the Hellenians, as well as their *gods* and *heroes*, were imported from the east, and chiefly from Egypt^d”. Their theology,

* Bryant, V. 1, p. 281. ^c See above, p. 211, 212.

^d V. 1. p. 149, 150. See above, p. 331.

therefore,

therefore, did not *arise from their own misconceptions and blunders.*

Necessity alone could compel our author to give so unfavourable an account of the Greek writers. If their authority be admitted, his hypothesis must fall to the ground. They, Mr. Bryant allows, considered their gods as deified mortals; but he says *they were mistaken*, and that *most of the deified personages never existed, but were mere titles of the deity, the sun*^c. It may perhaps be said, that it was not necessity, but irresistible evidence, that compelled Mr. Bryant to adopt an hypothesis so destructive of the credit of all the Greek writers, and indeed of the whole heathen world. Let us enquire whether he produces any such evidence.

His hypothesis rests principally upon two grounds. One of them is etymological deduction, a foundation far too slight to support an edifice of any mag-

^c V. 1. p. 452. See p. 305-317.

nitude.

nitude. But, two very learned writers^f having pointed out so many mistakes in Mr. Bryant's etymologies, nothing farther need be offered on the subject, except it be that the gentleman himself has destroyed his own argument. He says^g, that *he has rendered ancient terms as they were expressed by them, viz. the Grecians, who, according to our author^h, changed every foreign term to something similar in their own language : to something similar in sound, however remote in meaning, being led solely by the ear.* On this ground his etymologies are built; and yet he affirms, that the *Grecians could not articulate or spell the names of the deities they adopted, and did not know how to arrange the elements of which the words were composed*ⁱ. If the Greeks did not understand the language of their foreign instructors, yet the latter certainly understood the language of the former,

^f See *Bibliotheca critica*, pars prima, p. 53. printed at Amsterdam, 1777; and Richardson's *Dissertation on the languages of the eastern nations*, p. 104, & seq. & p. 380, 2d ed.

^g Preface, p. xvi. ^h V. i. p. 176. ⁱ Id. p. 306.

otherwise

otherwise they could not have conversed together. Now, there being a language common to both, the Greeks, we may reasonably suppose, learned the meaning of the foreign terms they adopted. But, according to our author, they not only misunderstood, but were unable to *articulate*, the names of the foreign gods. How, then, could they articulate their names when transferred into the Greek language, by words similar in sound? The articulation of words of the same sound, if impracticable in one language, must be equally so in every other. On the gentleman's principles, therefore, there could be no affinity in sound, any more than in sense, between the ancient terms and the Grecian mode of expressing them; and consequently no argument can be drawn from the etymology of ancient terms as expressed by the Greeks.

The other ground, on which Mr. Bryant's hypothesis is built, is the writings of the Greeks, those very Greeks whose testimony he had taken so much pains to disparage. *All our knowledge*
Z of

of the gentile history, says this learned writer^k, *must come either through the hands of the Grecians, or of the Romans who copied from them.* But of what use can it be to our author to appeal to the Greeks, if they were such gross blunderers as he represents them? And could he hope, by their authority, to establish a system, which, by his own confession, was opposite to that which they espoused? Why, it seems, *they did not know the purport of their own intelligence*^l; and he undertakes *to deduce from their own histories many truths with which they were totally unacquainted*^l. That Mr. Bryant has given proofs of a sagacity as uncommon as his erudition, and by the aid of both thrown new light upon ancient writers, and in some instances discovered their real meaning which had escaped the observation of others, it is but justice to him to acknowledge. Nevertheless, the attempt to deduce, from authors, truths with which they themselves were totally

^k Preface, p. ix. xvi. & p. 143. . . ^l Preface, p. ix.

unacquainted,

unacquainted, and to discover meanings opposite to those which they are acknowledged really to have had, was too hazardous an undertaking, and in which the imagination alone could properly engage.

After all, had Mr. Bryant, upon any grounds whatever, established his main point with respect to the heathen gods, viz. that they were all titles of the sun, or resolvable into that one deity^m; he could not prove from hence, that the Heathens did not, in their own conception, worship a deified mortal. He says, the Cuthites, or Amonians, and the collateral branches of the family, having raised Ham to a divinity, *worshipped him as the sunⁿ, the deity which the Amonians adored^o*. Now the Heathens, in worshipping the sun under this idea of it, may be considered as worshipping a human spirit.

^m V. 1. p. 305, 306, 309. Preface, p. xv.

ⁿ Preface, p. vii. *Ham was by his posterity esteemed the sun*, V. 1. p. 244. & p. 239, 257. He makes the oracle of Ham and the sun to be the same, p. 239, 243, 248, 258, 259, 273. ^o Ib. p. xv.

In justice to our learned author, as well as to our subject, I cannot conclude without taking notice, that, though he argues against the opinion which the Heathens entertained of their own gods, as being deified mortals, yet he himself maintains, that *the worship of Ham was introduced by the Amonians in Phrygia and Asia Minor*^p: that the Cuthites, wherever they came, were looked up to as a superior order of beings; and hence were stiled heroes and demons^a: and that the nations of the east acknowledged originally but one deity, the sun; but, when they came to give the titles of Orus, Osiris, and Cham, to some of the heads of their family, they too in time were looked up to as gods, and severally worshipped as the sun^r. He affirms^s, *By these terms, the manes and lares, are signified dii Arkitæ, who were no other than their Arkite ancestors, the persons preserved in the ark.* Speaking of the Greeks and Romans, he

^p V. 1. p. 273, 274.

^a Preface, p. vii.

^r V. 1. p. 306.

^s V. 2. p. 456.

says,

says', *The whole of their worship was confined to a few deified men, these lares, manes, dæmones, of whom we have been treating. They were no other than their Arkite ancestors, the Baalim of the Scriptures: to these they offered, and to these they made their vows. In more general terms, he positively asserts, The whole religion of the ancients consisted in the worship of demons: and to those personages their theology continually refers. They were, like the manes and lares of the Romans, supposed to be the souls of men deceased*".

These concessions, at the same time that they discover Mr. Bryant's candour, seem to me fully to confirm the opinion of the heathen gods which I have been attempting to establish,

IV. Let us proceed to consider the testimony of the Christian FATHERS to the general worship of dead men in the ancient heathen nations.

[†] V. 2. p. 459.

^u V. 2. p. 280.

Many testimonies of the Fathers, to the general worship of dead men amongst the Heathens, were produced in a former publication^w. These learned writers have also been occasionally appealed to, in the preceding sheets, in order to confirm some particular articles; though my principal design has hitherto been to establish the point in question by the authority of the Heathens themselves.

It could answer no end farther to multiply citations from the Fathers, merely to shew that they thought the gods of the Gentiles were deified mortals: for this, I apprehend, is universally admitted by learned men. Mr. Bryant^x, in particular, allows, “ that
 “ this was the opinion of Clemens, Eu-
 “ sebius, Cyril, Tertullian, Athenago-
 “ ras, Epiphanius, Lactantius, Arno-
 “ bius, Julius Firmicus, and many o-
 “ thers.” Some of those here omitted by Mr. Bryant were taken notice of in the Dis-

^w Dissert. on Mir. p. 212.

^x Mythol. I. p. 455.

“treatise on Miracles” ; particularly Cyprian, Minucius Felix, and St. Austin. But our learned author* affirms, “ that
“ the whole of their argument turns up-
“ on this point, the concessions of the
“ Gentiles. The more early writers
“ of the church were not making a strict
“ chronological enquiry, but were la-
“ bouring to convert the Heathen.
“ They therefore argue with them upon
“ their own principles, and confute
“ them from their own testimony.”——
“ It matters not whether the notion,”
viz. of the Heathens, who thought their
gods had been men, “ were true ; the
“ Fathers fairly make use of it. They
“ avail themselves of these concessions,
“ and prove from them the absurdity
“ of the Gentile worship, and the in-
“ consistency of their opinions.”

These observations, being specious in themselves, and supported by so great an authority as Mr. Bryant, deserve to be

† P. 212, 213.

* Mythol. I. p. 455.

maturely examined. It is natural to suppose that the Fathers would avail themselves of the concessions of the Heathens on the subject before us ; but the whole of their argument does not, to my apprehension, turn upon this point. They take upon themselves to affirm it as a fact, that the heathen gods had been men ; and they establish the fact by convincing evidence.

1. They affirm the fact in the strongest terms. Eusebius, who was a perfect master of antiquity, maintains, that, in the early ages, those, who excelled others in wisdom and power, or had eminently benefited mankind, were proclaimed gods, both while living and after their deaths². He declares he had proved, by unquestionable testimonies, that *the gods, worshipped by all people, both in cities and villages, were the ghosts and ima-*

² Ζωντας τε επι και μετα τελευτην θεως επισημισαν.
Præp. Ev. l. 2. c. 5. p. 70. D.

ges of dead men^a. And he asserts, that Sanchoniathon in particular had shewn, that dead men and women, covered with all manner of vices, were advanced to the rank of gods; and that these were the very same gods as those universally worshipped in all cities and countries in his time^b. Arnobius, after particularly enumerating several deities who had been men, positively asserts, “ that *all* the gods they had in “ their temples were such^c”. *The names of the gods whom you profess to worship*, says Theophilus Antiochenus to Autolycus, *are the names of dead men*^d. Lactantius, as

^a Νεκρων ειδωλα, και ανδρων παλαι κατοικομενων εικονας. Id. ib. A.

^b Μαρτυρει γε τωτws αυτws εκεινws ειναι, τws εισετι και νυν θεος παρτα τοις πασι νενομισμενws κατα τε τας πολεις, και τας χωρας. Id. l. i. c. 9. p. 31. C. See Demonst. Evang. l. 8. p. 364. & Vit. Constantini passim.

^c Vos hominem nullum colitis natum? non unum et alium? non innumeros alios? quinimo non omnes, quos jam templis habetis vestris, mortalium sustulistis ex numero, et cælo sideribusque donastis? Adv. Gentes, p. 21.

^d Τα μεν ονοματα ων φης σεβεισθαι θεων ονοματα εστι νεκρων ανθρωπων. Theophyl. ad Autolyc. l. i. c. 14. p. 36. Hamburg. 1724.

we have seen, adopted the system of Euhemerus, which represented all the heathen gods as mere mortals^e. St. Austin likewise has given his sanction to that system, and affirms that it was founded upon historical evidence^f. He maintains, that even the greater gods had been men^g; and that it would be difficult to find, in all the writings of the Heathens, any one god of a different class^h. Tertullianⁱ and Minucius Felix assert, that *all their gods, or the whole swarm of heathen deities, were men*, not excepting the chief of all, Jupiter and Saturn, before whom they had no gods^k. There were no kings, says Lactantius,

^e Lactant. Divin. Institut. l. 1. c. 14. cited above, p. 222. See also c. 11. p. 49. ed. Dufresnoy.

^f August. de Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 7. cited above, p. 222.

^g Ib. l. 8. c. 5. cited above, p. 257.

^h Id. ib. l. 8. c. 26. cited above, p. 257.

ⁱ Omnes istos deos vestros homines fuisse. Tertullian, Apol. c. 10. p. 11.

^k Saturnum enim principem hujus generis et examinis omnes scriptores vetustatis, Græci Romanique, hominem prodiderunt. — Saturnus Cretâ profugus, &c.

Minucius

Lactantius, before Saturn or Uranus¹; and, royalty being the ground of deification¹, these princes came to be regarded as the most ancient divinities.

2. At the same time that the Fathers assert, in general terms, the humanity of all the heathen gods, they establish it by arguments of great weight, such as have convinced others of the truth of their opinion, and which probably therefore produced the same effect upon themselves. Many of them have been touched upon in the preceding sheets; others will come under examination in the next section: and therefore, to avoid repetition, I shall barely mention them in this place, without enquiring into their force. Nor shall I attempt to

Minucius Felix, c. 22. p. 113, 114. ed. Davis. —
Ante Saturnum deus penes vos nemo est. Tertullian.
Apol. c. 10. cited at large above, p. 265. — See also
Arnobius, p. 92, 93. cited above, p. 252.

¹ Lactant. l. 1. c. 15.

make distinct mention of all their arguments, but only touch upon some of the principal.

They appeal to ancient tradition and all the authentic records of pagan antiquity^m; to the distinct testimonies of their poets and their historiansⁿ; to the discovery of the earthly origin of the gods in the mysteries; and to the report of those who had divulged this secret to the world^p. “The genealogies of your

^m Si enim forte vos fugit, fortis eos humanæ, et conditionis fuisse communis; replicate antiquissimas literas, et eorum scripta percurrite, qui vetustati vicini, sine ullis assentionibus cuncta veritate in liquida prodiderunt. Arnobius, p. 21. — Non attendunt in omnibus literis paganorum, &c. August. Civ. Dei, l. 8, c. 26. cited above, p. 257.

ⁿ Quod si quis dubitet, res eorum gestas, et facta, consideret: quæ universa tum poetæ, tum historici veteres, prodiderunt. Lactant. l. 1. c. 8. p. 35.

^p Particularly Leo, the Egyptian priest. Minuc. Felix, p. 121, 122. Cyprian. de Idol. Vanit. p. 12. ed. Fell. August. Civ. Dei, l. 8, c. 5, 27.

“ gods”,

“ gods⁹”, said the Fathers in their addresses to the Heathens, “ and their marriages, their adulteries, and other crimes^r, point out their participation of human nature. They were kings who were indebted for their divinity to the adulation of their subjects^s. Their fathers and mothers, their country, their tribe and kindred, their exploits and various fortunes,

⁹ Theophilus Ant. ad Autolyc. l. 2. p. 72. is thus rendered by Wolfius. Etenim dum genealogias eorum percurritis, pro hominibus eos habetis; paulo post vero deos appellatis, et colitis, nec recogitantes, neque intelligentes, eos tales esse, quales natos legitis. Tatian (Orat. ad Græcos, c. 36. p. 79. ed. Worth) argues in the same manner. ΓΕΝΕΣΙΝ ΑΝ ΛΕΥΓΗΤΕ ΘΕΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ΘΥΗΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΦΑΝΙΣΘΕ.

^r Tatian. ubi supra, p. 30, 31. Tertullian, after enumerating the crimes imputed to the gods by their votaries, adds, At quin ut illos homines fuisse non possitis negare, etiam istæ notæ accedunt. Apol. c. 11. p. 12.

^s Quomodò ergo, inquiet aliquis, dii crediti sunt? Nimirum quia reges maximi ac potentissimi fuerint. Lactant. l. 1. c. 8. p. 35. In c. 15. he handles the subject more largely. Compare Cyprian de Idol. Vanitat. init. & Minucius Felix, c. 29. p. 147, 148.

“ are

“ are all on record^t. It is well known
 “ in what cities they were born, and
 “ where they were buried”. And,
 “ if farther proofs of their humanity
 “ are desired, we appeal to the viands^w
 “ with which your gods are supplied, to
 “ the images^x by which they are repre-
 “ sented, and to the temples^y in which
 “ their remains are deposited. But the
 “ fact itself, that all those whom you

^t See above, note ⁿ, August. Civ. D. l. 8. c. 27. and Tertullian. Apol. c. 10. p. 11. ed. Rigalt. I shall set down the words of Arnobius, p. 21. Jam profecto discetis, quibus singuli patribus, quibus matribus, fuerint procreati, qua in nati regione, qua gente, quæ fecerint, egerint, pertulerint, actitarint, quas in rebus obeundis adverforum senserint, fecundantiumque fortunas.

^u The heathen records testified to his time, says Tertullian, (Apol. c. 10. p. 11.) et civitatibus in quibus nati sunt; et regionibus in quibus aliquid operati vestigia reliquerunt, in quibus etiam sepulti demonstrantur. See Recogn. S. Clementis, l. 10. c. 23, 24. p. 594. ap. Patres Apost. V. 1. ed. Clerici.

^w Sin autem scientes uteris esse gestatos, et frugibus eos visitasse terrenis. Arnob. p. 21. See the next section under the article of *worship*.

^x See the next section, article V. ^y Ib. article II.

“ now

“ now worship as gods had once been
“ men, is so notorious that you
“ cannot deny it^z. It is because you
“ cannot deny that the objects of your
“ worship had been men, that you af-
“ firm them to be now advanced to the
“ rank of gods^a. Nor have you any o-
“ ther reason, for flying to a physical
“ explication of the fables, than your
“ being ashamed of the literal history^b”.

This is the natural language of per-
sons fully persuaded of the truth of what
they said. Under this strong persuasion,

^z Provocamus a vobis ad conscientiam vestram. Illa
nos judicet, illa nos damnet, si poterit negare *omnes* istos
deos vestros homines fuisse. Tertullian. Apol. c. 10.
p. 11.

^a Et quoniam sicut illos homines fuisse non audetis
denegare, ita post mortem deos factos instituistis asseve-
rare. Tertullian. Apol. c. 11. p. 11.

^b Ipsa quoque vulgaris superstitio communis idolola-
triæ, cùm in simulacris de nominibus et fabulis veterum
mortuorum pudet, ad interpretationem naturalium re-
fugit, et dedecus suum ingenio adumbrat. Tertullian.
adv. Marcion. l. 1. p. 371, 372. ed. Rigalt. 1675. —
Ut scriptorum tantam defendatis audaciam, allegorias
res illas, et naturalis scientiæ mentimini esse doctrinas.
Arnobius, p. 150.

they

they openly insult the public religion of their country, and justify their non-conformity to it on account of it's prescribing the worship of the dead. With great eloquence and strength of reasoning do they expose the absurdity of that worship, and the folly and arrogance of pretending, by certain ceremonies, to convert mortal men into immortal gods, and to advance them to celestial dignity and power^c. These reproaches, had they not been well founded, would have been received with all the contempt they deserved ; and those, who urged them with so much confidence and triumph, would have appeared ridiculous in the eyes of all the world. But their reasonings on this subject had a very different effect, and contributed greatly to the downfall of pagan idolatry.

The opinion and testimony of the Fathers, under the foregoing circumstances, seem to me to be of great weight.

^c See Lactant. l. 1. c. 15. p. 69, 70. ed. Dufresnoy.

They

knew very little what pains he was taking to destroy it. He not only opposes their

principal ground on which he asks, p. 160, "Is not this
 " such an attack upon the common honesty of man-
 " kind ——— as naturally destroys the faith of all
 " history, while it leads to *universal* scepticism?" Here
 it is obvious to remark, 1. That the character which is
 given the Fathers by Jerome, who was himself one of
 them, is confirmed by the testimony of several others;
 as the reader may find by consulting Daillé, or a late
 learned publication (p. 83, &c.) by the Rev. Mr. Hen-
 ry Taylor, which contains many valuable reflections on
 the fifteenth chapter of the 1st volume of Mr. Gib-
 bons's History. 2. The observation which Mr. Fell
 condemns is no more than a just inference from that cha-
 racter which Jerome, a very competent and impartial
 judge, had given the Fathers. Nevertheless Mr. Fell
 treats it as a groundless calumny; nor could it be consi-
 dered in any other light by an unlearned reader; for
 our author has cited the observation without taking any
 notice of Jerome, the authority upon which it was
 founded. The gentleman assures us, in his title-page,
 that truth was his only object; otherwise I should have
 thought, that, on this as on almost all other occasions,
 obloquy had been no small part of his design. Can he
 point out the place where I have said, what he (in p.
 156) expressly represents me as saying, "That no stress
 " is to be laid on their (the Fathers) *general* conduct?"
 The gentleman often honours me with such additions.
 3. If the observation complained of *destroys the faith of*
all

their *opinion*, but labours to overturn their *testimony*. They affirm it as a *fact*, which none could controvert, that the heathen gods had been men. Mr. Fell, on the contrary, maintains*, that “all the

all history, St. Jerome alone (whose language fully warrants it, but whom our author has kept out of fight) is the person on whom the blame should be laid. The conduct of the Fathers is certainly liable to just censure, whether the character they give of themselves be true or false. If it be true, who can justify them? If it be false, (which it would be absurd to suppose,) you will find it necessary in this instance to disbelieve them. But this by no means destroys the faith of all history. The deceptions to which we are liable are a ground of *caution*, not of *universal scepticism*. Human testimony, by which men determine concerning the lives and properties of others in courts of judicature, is, *under proper circumstances*, a sure ground of dependence. The testimony of the Fathers in particular, on every point of real importance to Christianity, is, I apprehend, confirmed by such circumstantial evidence as prevents the very possibility of deception. 4. The reasons I assigned for rejecting the professed *opinion* of some of the Fathers, concerning the *possessing demons*, (Essay on Demoniacs, p. 49-56, and Introduction, p. 7, 8.) do not at all hold in the case of the testimony they bear to the *fact* now before us, the human origin of the heathen gods.

* P. 110.

world *knew* they had never been men."

If this be true, the Fathers are chargeable, not with ignorance or error, but with wilful falsehood. I do not say the gentleman really designed to advance so severe a charge against them. It does not appear, from his writings, that he had any acquaintance with their sentiments on the subject before us, or that he had so much as read the extracts from them in the Dissertation which he undertook to answer. At least, he has taken no notice of those extracts; and therefore, if he did read them, he did not judge them worthy of a reply. His silence must be considered as expressive either of his ignorance of the Fathers, or of his sovereign contempt of them; unless we resolve it into some prudential consideration.

I have now distinctly examined the sentiments of the Gentiles and of the early Christians concerning the heathen gods; and have shewn that they both agree in affirming their earthly origin. The
Fathers,

Fathers, in particular, do often assert, in general terms, and without making any exceptions, *that all the pagan deities had once been men.* Nevertheless, a late writer imagined^f, that “no opinion” could be more erroneous than this.” I leave it to the reader to judge, whether the proposition here condemned be not, under a few obvious restrictions, confirmed by the clearest and strongest testimonies.—— But we shall advance one step farther under the next section.

S E C T. II.

General proofs of the worship of human spirits, amongst the ancient Heathens, drawn from FACTS.

EVERY one must have observed, that the testimony of competent and honest witnesses, which in itself is a reasonable ground of dependence, may be confirmed by such circumstantial evi-

^f Mr. Fell. See above, p. 12.

dence as to remove every degree of doubt or suspicion. This observation was never more applicable than to the case before us. The testimonies to the worship of human spirits in particular nations, and to it's general prevalence, hitherto produced, receive the strongest confirmation from facts and circumstances which cannot be controverted with any colour of reason; and yet cannot be accounted for but upon the supposition of the truth of those testimonies. This argument was urged in a former publication^g, (though overlooked by the gentleman who wrote against it;) but it well deserves a larger illustration than was consistent with the occasion on which it was there introduced.

I. I shall begin with taking notice, that divine honours were paid to the dead, according to their different ranks and characters when living, at all the SEPULCHRES of the Heathens.

^g Dissertat. on Mir. p. 193.

There

There has already been occasion to observe^h, that sacrifices and libations were offered in honour of *all* the dead at the places of their interment. Children were compelled by law to perform these rites to their parents ; and, where there were no children, heirs were laid under the same obligation to do itⁱ.

No wonder, then, that religious honours should be paid to persons distinguished by their rank or merit. Alexander and Hephæstion offered sacrifices at the tombs of Achilles and the Trojan heroes upon the plains of Troy^k.

The tombs of the ancients were sometimes built of stone, and called *Karns*^l; but were more commonly conical mounds of earth, well known here in England by the name of *barrows*, which were rai-

^h Above, p. 249, 270.

ⁱ Petit. Leg. Attic. p. 601.

^k Arrian. Exped. Alex. l. 1. c. 11. p. 25. ed. Gro-nov. Q. Curt. l. 2. c. 4. Freinshem. Supplem. tom. 1. p. 27. ed. Snakenburg.

^l Borlase, Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 212.

fed over the dead body, or, in case of it's being burned, over the bones and ashes. These *tumuli*, or sepulchral mounds, were sometimes built in the shape of altars^m, undoubtedly that they might be used as such, as they also often were when not made in this particular shapeⁿ.

But, in most cases, altars, distinct from the sacred mounds, were raised near them for the purpose of worship. The Trojans erected to Polydore not only a large tomb or mound of earth, but altars likewise, and sacrificed to his manes^o. Andromache also raised a vacant tomb, and consecrated two altars, to Hector^p.

Amongst persons elevated above the level of the vulgar there was a great distinction made, not only with respect to

^m The sepulchre of Themistocles was *βωμοειδές*, according to the authors cited by Plutarch, Vit. Themist. p. 128. E.

ⁿ See Borlase, p. 222.

^o Virg. *Æn.* III. 62. cited above, p. 328, in note ^f.

^p Id. *ib.* v. 303, cited above, p. 329, in note ^k.

the magnificence of their sepulchres, but also in regard to the worship that was paid them. Herodotus relates of the Amathusians, that they were admonished by an oracle, *to sacrifice annually to Onesilus as to a hero*¹. To Philippus, of Crotona, the Egistans *erected the monument of a hero upon his tomb, and propitiated him with sacrifices*². When heroes were exalted to the rank of gods, they were still more honourably distinguished. To what has been already³ said upon this subject I here add, that Castor and Pollux *received equal honours with the gods*^{*}: which implies that their honours were superior to those paid to heroes. The *taphos*, or *tomb*, of Jupiter, built by the Magnesians, who thought he was buried in their country, was a structure worthy of admiration⁴; and every one knows he was the supreme object of religious worship amongst the several nations of Greece.

¹ Ονεισίλειον δὲ θύειν, ὡς ἡρώϊ, ἀνα παν ἑτος. Herodot. l. 5. c. 114.

² Ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ ταφῶν αὐτοῦ ἡρώου ἰδρυσαμένοι, θυσιάζουσιν αὐτὸν ἱλασκόμενοι. Id. ib. c. 47. ^{*} P. 172-176.

^{*} Τιμὰς ἰσοδύναμις ἐσχόν. Plutarchi Theseus, 16. A.

⁴ Ταφὸν Διὸς ἀξίον. Pausaniæ Corinthiaca, p. 161.

Princes and great commanders had their sepulchres dignified by a *cromlech*^u, which was composed of a large flat stone, in or near a horizontal position, supported by erect stones^w. The word denotes a *consecrated stone*^x or *table*. The repasts provided for the dead (consisting commonly of vegetables, bread, and eggs) were called *filicernia*, or *suppers upon a stone*. These stone-tables were called *altars*^y, not merely on account of their form, as some suppose, but also on account of their use; the supper placed upon them being an offering to the *dii manes*. A learned writer allows, that the places round about them were the scenes of the *parentalia*, or where the dead were worshipped^z. Now, as this worship consisted, in part, in the celebration of a feast, it is natural to suppose, that the *cromlech* was the table or altar on which was laid that part of it which was designed for the use of the departed.

A

^u Borlase, p. 229. ^w Id. p. 223.^x חֲדָם לֹוּחַ. Rowland, p. 47, 214. Borlase, p. 225.^y Borlase, p. 228.^z Wormius, p. 8. speaking of the *cromlech*, says, *Maximâ ex parte sepulchro imposita esse solet, eo fine,*

ut

A very learned writer contends, that cromlechs and barrows were not places where the gods were buried, but only where they were worshipped. When speaking of those mounds, in Greece, that were fenced round with a border of stone-work, upon the top of which a large stone was placed, he says^a, *They were looked upon as receptacles of the dead: but were high altars, with their sacred τεμενη, which had been erected for divine worship in the most early times.* The ταφοι, (*taphoi*,) he affirms^b, *were not tombs, but conical mounds of earth, on which, in the first ages, offerings were made by fire.* He represents the sacred tupha of the Persians as being *set apart as purathea, for the celebration of the rites of this element*^c. The word (ταφος) *taphos* is sometimes used, in a large sense, for a *hillock*; but it was, says Mr. Bryant, interpreted by the Greeks *a tomb*^d. And, adopting it in this limited sense, “they for-
ut ibidem in memoriam defuncti quotannis sacra peragantur. See Borlase, p. 227, 229, 230.

^a Bryant, Mythol. v. i. p. 466.

^b P. 456.

^c P. 467.

^d P. 453, 451.

“ med a notion of their gods having been
 “ buried in every place where there was a
 “ tumulus to their honour”^e.

According to our author, *taphos*, *taph*,
 or *tuph*, seems to have been a word current
 in many countries^f. Now, might it not
 denote a sepulchral mound in other na-
 tions as well as in Greece? That it was
 misinterpreted by the Greeks, and by
 them alone, is a point which has not
 been proved, and ought not to be taken
 for granted. Besides, how improbable is
 it, that they should adopt this term into
 their own language without learning the
 meaning of it, especially as it was in
 such common use in the nations around
 them? Our author affirms, that the
 practice of raising the *taphoi*, or mounds,
 in question, was transmitted from the
 Egyptians into Greece^g; and that many
 of them were raised in different parts
 of that country by the Amonians^h. Now
 if neither any instruction in the meaning
 of the term, nor even samples of the

^eP. 453. ^fP. 449, 450. ^gBryant, p. 467. ^hP. 451.

thing intended by it, could enable the Greeks to understand it, though the plainest in all their language, their stupidity is without a parallel, and discovered itself on more subjects than the names of the foreign godsⁱ. After all, if the Greeks were mistaken, in supposing that the gods had been buried in the places where there were tumuli to their honour, they could not have fallen into such a mistake, if they had not first learned, (from the Egyptians, Amonians, and others,) that the gods had been men.

If we only consider the nature of the cromlechs, we shall soon be convinced that they could not serve as altars for sacrificial fires; because no fire could be kindled upon them sufficient to consume the victim without scorching the officiating priest; because few, if any, of them, could bear the intenseness of the sacrificial fire; and because the table-stone of some of them was so very

ⁱ See above, p. 331. & seq.

gibbous,

gibbous, that no priest could stand on it, either to tend the fire or oversee the consumption of the victim*. Their size, and form, and quality, conclude equally against the notion of their being designed for the celebration of the rites of fire.

That the conical mounds of raised earth were sepulchres, and the cromlechs sepulchral tables or altars, on which oblations of food were made to the dead, cannot well be doubted by those who reflect, that the barrow was one of the most ancient and common methods of interring the dead¹; that the cromlechs are found upon^m, and often surrounded with, barrows; that the common people called them *grave-stones*ⁿ; that

* In proof of these points, see Borlase, p. 226, 227.

¹ Borlase, p. 228. ^m Id. p. 229.

ⁿ On the hill *Ridge*, north of Pottisham, in Dorsetshire, is a cromlech, which stands upon a tumulus, or barrow, and is called by the common people *bell-stone*, that is, a *grave-stone*. *Helle* signifies *sepulchrum*. It is derived from *belan*, to cover, or conceal; and therefore properly

that a small brook near this kind of monument is called *the ford of the graves*^o; that “the area underneath the quoit is “very near the dimensions of the human body and every kind of sarcophagus of the ancients”^p; and, lastly, that underneath or near these monuments are found vaults, and human bones, and ashes^q.

It may be observed, farther, that circular monuments also, whether open or inclosed, were often sepulchral^r; and that some of these circles were distinguished by a cromlech^s, which certainly was an appendage to sepulchres. Such monuments, according to Mr. Borlase^t, are found not only in Britain, and in the adjacent isles, but in Ireland, France,

properly expresses *the grave*, that common covering, or concealment, of mankind. In the west of England, a tiler is still called *bellier*, which is derived from the same verb as *belle*. See the History and Antiq. of Dorset, by the Rev. Mr. J. Hutchins, v. 1. p. 554.

^o Borlase, p. 228. ^p Borlase, p. 228.

^q P. 227, 229. See also p. 193. ^r Id. p. 209.

^s P. 193. ^t P. 193, 225.

Germany,

Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and other countries. And Mr. Bryant^u himself has proved, from Pausanias and Strabo, what might be more fully confirmed, that the Greeks had many sacred mounds of earth, and monuments, which they (who certainly were the most competent judges) regarded as the tombs of departed heroes. It is natural to suppose, that those conical mounds also, which have been found in Egypt, in Persia, at Troas, and other places, and are taken notice of by Mr. Bryant^w, were in like manner receptacles of the dead, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary*.

Clemens

^u V. I. p. 451, 465, 466.

^w V. I. p. 449, 461-464, 466-469.

*According to Mr. Bryant's construction of *taph* and *taphos*, p. 449, *taph-Ofiris* must denote the hill, or high altar, of Ofiris. But, all that can be hence inferred is, that this altar, or hill, was consecrated to Ofiris, or that he was an object of religious worship; which he might be, and certainly was, notwithstanding his having been a man. Accordingly, the Greeks, who derived all their knowledge of Ofiris from the Egyptians, and without doubt adopted their idea of him, — the Greeks by *taph Ofiris* understood

Clemens Alexandrinus informs us, *that the places of sepulture which the Heathens worshipped were too numerous to be counted*^x.

understood the burying-place of the god Osiris, (Plutarch's *If. & Osir.* p. 359.) as the gentleman himself allows, p. 451, 461.

He lays great stress upon the case of the Persians, whom he represents, p. 466, 467, as adhering to the purer zabaïsm, erecting the same sacred tupha as the Grecians, dedicating them to Anait, the great fountain of light, and founding a kind of temple, of a conical figure, in honour of Anait, Omanus, and Anandrates. But it has been shewn, that the Persians worshipped dead men, (see above, ch. 1. sect. 1. p. 47. & seq. and below, sect. 2. article 4. n° 1.) and that Anait, Omanus, and Anandrates, were nothing more than the tutelary deities of Persia, (see above, p. 68-72.) As to the Persians raising a temple to them, and especially one that so much resembled a tomb, it is rather a proof than a refutation of their humanity. It seems indeed to have been a kind of honorary tomb, (see above, p. 327 & seq.) and was erected to testify their devotion to these gods, to whom they ascribed their victory over the Sacæ. Strabo, l. 11, p. 779. And, as our author admits that the Helladians and the Persians were of the same family, and had many similar rites, the tupha were certainly raised by both with the same view.

^x Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπιοντι μοι τὰς προσκυνημένας ὑμῖν ταφάς, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔδ' ὁ πᾶς ἀν ἀρεσῇ χρόνος. Clem. Alexandr. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 40.

From the facts that have been stated we may infer the general prevalence of the worship of human spirits over the heathen world. All sepulchres, even those of private persons, were places where divine honours were paid to the manes of the dead. Those tumuli and cromlechs, which have been represented merely as altars, were also the tombs and monuments of gods, and heroes, and other great men. The monuments were probably of Celtic origin, and were carried by that numerous people into all their settlements^y. Both the sacred mounds and monuments are found in all countries. Their use was in all the same; and was so obvious that it could not be mistaken.

As to the Heathens worshipping dead men *at the vestibule of the charnel-house*, which seems so incredible to a learned writer^z, the reason of it, which was promised to be assigned, is exceeding ob-

^y Borlase, p. 225.

^z Bryant, v. 1. p. 452.

vious.

vious. Even the philosophers^a maintained, that the souls of the deceased preserved an affection for their former bodies, and hovered about them, or the places where they were buried^b. The same opinion formed a part of the creed of the vulgar, and entered into the religion of the state^c.

B b 2

Now

^a See Macrobius, in Som. Scip. l. 1. c. 9. p. 35. c. 13. p. 45. l. 2. c. 16. p. 125. ed. Londini, 1694. Porphy. de Abstin. l. 2. §. 47. Pato ap. Origen. c. Cels. p. 97.

^b The wandering souls of those who were unburied returned to the rest of the grave after the rites of sepulture were performed. Rite ergo reddita legitima sepultura, redit anima ad quietem sepulchri. Servius on Virg. *Æn.* III. 68.

^c Ita plane; quemadmodum vulgus existimat, mortuorum animas circa tumulos et corporum suorum reliquias oberrare. Lactant. l. 2. c. 2. p. 117. The common persuasion was, that ghosts were capable of feeling pressure from the earth that covered their bodies; as appears from the custom of praying that the earth might lie light or press heavy upon them, as the petitioners were well or ill affected towards the deceased. Potter's Gr. Antiq. v. 2. b. 4. c. 7. p. 243. The general practice of consulting, supplicating, and appealing, the gods at their tombs, plainly supposes their dwelling there. — It may be objected, that eminent

Now what could be more natural than for the Heathens, who worshipped human souls, to do it in the places where they were thought to reside? Nor did they feel the difficulty with which our author was affected: for they paid divine honours to the carcases^d, the bones^e, and ashes^f, of men deceased,

nent men were thought to return at death to their native sky. The Heathens saw the difficulty, and attempted to solve it, by asserting, that man was compounded of three (if not more) parts; body, mind, and soul. The *first* was committed to the grave; the *second* either ascended into heaven or descended into the lower regions; the *third* remained near the sepulchre. Those who divided man into four parts remitted the manes to Orcus. Proofs of this point may be produced hereafter. I shall only here observe, that, when Hercules was in heaven, (Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 16.) Ulysses met his εἰδωλον in the shades below. Odyss. l. xi. 600.

^d See above, p. 165, note x.

^e Offa tibi juro per matris, et offa parentis.

Propertius, l. II. eleg. 20. v. 15.

^f Virg. Æn. III. 303. cited above, p. 329, note k. *Cineribus hic locus sacer* was an inscription on a stone at Rome. Guther. de Jure Manium, l. 2. c. 19.

and

and even to their very coffins^g and sepulchres^h; notwithstanding their being most unequivocal proofs of the mortal origin of their gods.

II. The heathen TEMPLES were places of sepulture, and designed as mansions for such gods as had been men.

Fond as the dead were supposed to be of their tombs and the adjacent places, the Heathens seem to have been apprehensive that they might occasionally wander from them, or perhaps totally desert them, after the dissolution of their bodies. And therefore, the more effectually to secure their perpetual residence, or at least to render it more agreeable, they raised, over or near their sepulchres, houses, or palaces, called *temples*, answerable to the magnificence of their former condition; and supplied them with every thing that could gratify their

^g The Athenians received the coffin of Theseus with pompous processions and sacrifices: πομπαῖς τε λαμπραῖς ἐδεξάντο καὶ θυσῖαις. Plutarchi Theseus, p. 17.

^h Dissert on Mir. p. 191, note ^u.

desires¹. These temples were considered as the proper *habitations*^{*} of the gods to whom they were dedicated: a circumstance which demonstrates that they were not erected to the sun, moon, stars, and elements; for whose reception and accommodation they were no way adapted. On the other hand, they corresponded entirely to the opinion entertained of deified men, who preserved, as will be hereafter shewn, all their former dispositions, and whose pride, consequently, was highly flattered by sumptuous

¹ See under article VI.

^{*} The Heathens called their temples *τας κλινας και τα εδη θεων*. Vid. Selden. de Synedr. l. 3. c. 14. They applied to them the terms *οικοι* & *δομοι*. Spencer de Leg. Heb. Rit. p. 891. Templum, inquit, hoc Martis est, hoc Junonis, — quid est aliud dicere, quam domus hæc Martis est, hæc Junonis? &c. Arnobius, l. 6. p. 191. Origen represents the heathen demons as taking up their residence in temples and images, either from choice or through the allurements of magical rites; and speaks of the heathen temples as the places where were *δαιμονες ιδρυμενοι*. Origen c. Cels. l. 3. p. 131. He is speaking of deified men, whose souls the Gentiles called demons. *Δαιμονας μεν τας τετων ψυχας καλουντες*. Clem. Alexandr. Strom. l. 6. p. 755.

palaces,

palaces, and all the attendance, and state, and pomp, of royalty.

Accordingly the early Christians, and Clemens Alexandrinus in particular, affirmed, that the buildings, which the Heathens called by the honourable name of temples, were in reality nothing else but the sepulchres of dead men^l; and that they placed their coffins in many of their temples as so many statues of their gods^m. Eusebiusⁿ entertained the same opinion of their temples as Clemens. Cyril^o also, and St. Austin^p, and Prudentius^q, and other Christian wri-

^l Νέως μὲν εὐφημῶς ονομαζομένους, ταφῆς δὲ γενομένους, τῷτεσι, τῆς ταφῆς νέως ἐπικλημένους. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 39. ed. Potteri. See also p. 40, 74.

^m Ἀντίκα οἱ ἐμπειροὶ τῆ λόγῃ, κατὰ τὰς ἰδρύσεις ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν, καὶ σχεδὸν πάσας τὰς θήκας τῶν κατοικομένων ἐνιδρύσαντο. Stromat. l. 6. p. 755.

ⁿ Præp. Ev. l. 2. c. 6. Περὶ τῆ νεκρῶν εἶναι ταφῆς τὰ καλεόμενα αὐτῶν ἱερά τῶν θεῶν.

^o Cyril. Alexandr. contra Julian. l. 10. p. 342, 343.

^p August. de Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26. l. 18. c. 5.

^q Et tot templa deum Romæ, quot in urbe sepulchra Heroum, numerare licet. —

Prudentius ad Symmachum, l. 1.

ters, represent the heathen temples as places of sepulture. Arnobius not only speaks of them in the same view^r, but, in a passage produced above, tells the Gentiles, that *all the gods they had in their temples had been men*^s.

The language of the Heathens on the subject before us agrees with that of the ancient Christians. Hermes Trismegistus is represented as foreseeing, that, even in Egypt, the temples of the gods would be filled with the tombs of the dead^t. And Sanchoniathon relates, that the Egyptians, and other ancient nations, transferred, to the deified benefactors of the human race, the temples which

^r Quid? quod multa ex his templa, quæ tholis sunt aureis et sublimibus elata vestigiis, auctorum conscriptionibus comprobatur contegere cineres atque ossa, et functorum esse corporum sepulturas. Arnob. adv. Gent. p. 193.

^s P. 345.

^t Hermes ipse, — quasi futura prænunciando, deplorans ait: Tunc terra ista sanctissima (sc. Ægyptus) sedes delubrorum atque templorum, sepulchrorum erit mortuorumque plenissima. Ap. August. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26.

had been erected to the elements and planets^u.

There are many facts on record which confirm the point we have been endeavouring to establish. Temples were every where raised to the gods of the higher order, whom we have already proved to be mere mortals. Vulcan, whose own temple was at Memphis, erected several temples to his wife, who became the *dea Cypria* and the *dea Syria*^w.

The

^u ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΧΡΕΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΝΤΑΣ ΝΑΟΣ ΜΕΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ. Ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. p. 32. D. ——— This passage and that in the preceding note imply, that temples had been erected to other gods before men were worshipped in them. But, as the word *temple* was often used in a large sense, for *a place consecrated to the gods*, these passages are very reconcileable with the opinion of those who think temples, properly so called, were, from the first, sepulchral monuments.

^w Newton's Chronology, p. 224, 225. As the Heathens erected *many temples* as well as tombs to the same god, and supposed him to be personally present in each, they must have ascribed to human spirits a kind of ubiquity; in the same manner as the Romaniſts do in offering prayers to the same saint, in the same instant of time, in every part of the world. Such was the doctrine

The Syrians worshipped one of their queens, and used her sepulchre for a temple^x. At Colchis there was a temple and a grove dedicated to Phrixus^y. The bones of Protefilaus were deposited in a consecrated chapel^z. Castor and Pollux had temples erected to them not only at

trine of Jerome; (advers. Vigilantium, p. 42. ed. Paris. 1546.) *Cum diabolus et dæmones toto vagentur in orbe, et celeritate nimia ubique præsentés sint, martyres post effusionem sanguinis sui arca operientur inclusi, et inde exire non poterint?*

^x Justin. l. 36. c. 2. cited above, p. 204. The sepulchre is generally distinguished from the temple:

*Est urbe egressis tumulus, templumque vetustum
Desertæ Cereris.* — Virg. *Æn.* II. 713.

See also v. 742, and below, note ^z.

^y Above, p. 120.

^z Ib. p. 121. Numerous instances of persons of high rank being buried within the precincts of temples may be found in Clem. Alexandr. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 39. Arnob. p. 193. Cyril. contr. Julian. p. 342. I shall only add, that Apries was buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors, erected in the temple of Minerva. Herodotus, l. 2. c. 169. The same historian says of Amasis, l. 3. c. 10. *Εταφη εν τησι ταφησι τηςι εν τω ιρω, τας αυτος οικοδομησατο.*

Sparta,

Sparta, but at Athens^a. And Maximus Tyrius, speaking of Egypt, says, *A god dies and is buried, and you are shewn in the same place his temple and his tomb*^b. Lastly, the reason given by Herodotus for there being no temples in Persia, viz. that their gods had not been men^c, clearly shews, that it was to such gods as had been men that these sacred edifices were raised in other countries.

III. The PYRAMIDS were sepulchral monuments and altars.

The great pyramid^d at Babylon was well known under the name of the *temple of Belus*, (the founder of the Babylonian empire;) which sufficiently shews, that it was his sepulchral monument, and erected for his worship. The pyra-

^a Theodoret (l. 8. Græcanicarum affectionum) says, Τυνδαριδας θεος εκαλεσαν Ελληνες, — και τεμενων εκ εν Σπαρτη μονον, αλλα και Αθηναις, τετες ηξιωσαν.

^b Αποδησκει θεος Αιγυπτιοις, και πενθειται θεος, και δεικνυται παρ' αυτοις ιερον θεου, και ταφος θεου. Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 38. p. 398. ed. Davis. Cantab. 1703.

^c Herodot. l. 1. c. 131. cited above, p. 48.

^d See above, p. 194.

mids built by Porfena, king of Etruria, near Clusium, and by Cæstius, at Rome, were also the sepulchres and monuments of the dead^e. And, as these were imitations of those in Egypt, it is natural to suppose that both had the same intention. But, as some will not allow that the Egyptian pyramids, more celebrated than any other, were places of sepulture, I shall submit the following observations to the judgement of the reader.

It was customary with the ancients to raise mounds of an immense magnitude upon the graves of their monarchs and other persons of great distinction^f. The Egyptians^g, in particular, though not very

^e Greave's Description of the Pyramids, p. 64. Univ. Hist. v. 1. p. 430. 8vo, 1747.

^f The mount raised over Ninus was said to be nine furlongs in height and ten in breadth. Ctesias ap, Diodor. Sic. l. 2. p. 120. ed. Weffeling. The monument of Hephæstion cost twelve thousand talents. Justin. l. 12. c. 12. See Borlase's Antiq. of Cornw. p. 218.

^g Et regum cineres exstructo monte quiescant. Lucan. l. 8. v. 695. Concerning the wonderful sepulchres

very curious in building their houses, as being but temporary habitations, exceeded all imaginable magnificence in their sepulchres, considering them as their *eternal mansions*^h. They seem to have believed, that, as long as the body lasted, so long the soul was present with it. It is natural, therefore, to suppose, that their attention would be very much employed in preserving the former from corruption, and in accommodating both with a durable habitation.

Accordingly, the most ancient and credible historians represent the pyramids as royal sepulchres. From Herodotus we learn, that the body of Cheopsⁱ was deposited under the pyramid which he himself had built^k; that his son and

chres of the ancient kings of Egypt see Diodor. Sic. l. 2. p. 56, 57.

^h Ταφες αἰδίδας οικας προσαγορευουσιν. Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 60, 61.

ⁱ By Diodorus he is called Chemnis, l. 1. p. 72.

^k Herodot. l. 2. c. 124-127. In this pyramid there stands a tomb at this day. Universal Hist. v. 1. p. 429, 438.

daughter

daughter did each of them imitate their father in building a pyramid^l, (no doubt with the same intention;) that Afychis erected a pyramid of brick for his monument^m; and that the labyrinth, near the lake Moëris, a structure much more admirable even than the pyramids, contained the sepulchres of the kings who built it, and of the holy crocodilesⁿ. Strabo, speaking of the top of a mountain near Memphis, says, that all the pyramids upon it were royal sepulchres^o. And Diodorus Siculus informs us, that the two pyramids, built by Chemnis and Cephres, were by them designed for their own sepulchres, though both were buried in other places^p. To these testi-

monies

^l Herodot. ubi supra. ^m Id. ib. c. 136.

ⁿ Ib. c. 149.

^o Πολλὰι μὲν πυραμίδες εἰσι, ταφοὶ τῶν βασιλέων. Strabo, l. 17, p. 1161.

^p Τῶν δὲ βασιλέων τῶν κατασκευασάντων αὐτὰς εαυτοῖς ταφῆς, συνέβη μηδετέρον αὐτῶν ταῖς πυραμίδων ἐνταφῆναι. Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 73. But, though it so fell out that neither of these kings was buried in the pyramid

he

monies I might add those of Lucan^a, Statius^r, and Clemens Alexandrinus^r; as also those of the Arabs, Copts, and Sabians^r; were they wanted in so plain a case^u.

The

he erected, nevertheless both the edifices might be used as altars for their worship. As the ashes of Germanicus were carried through the cities of Italy, Tacitus says, (Annal. l. 3. c. 2.) *Etiam quorum diversa oppida, tamen obvii, et victimas atque aras diis manibus statuentes, lacrimis et conclamationibus dolorem testabantur*. See what was observed above concerning honorary tombs, p. 327 & seq.

^a Cum Ptolemæorum manes, seriemque pudendam,
Pyramides claudant, indignaque mausolea. L. 8.
v. 698. Pyramidum tumulis evulsus Amasis. Id. l. 9.
v. 155. Compare Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. 36. p. 738.
tom. 2. ed. Harduin.

^r Atque utinam, Fortuna, dares mihi manibus aras,
Par templis opus, æriamque educere molem,
Cyclopum scopulos ultra, atque audacia faxa
Pyramidum, et magno tumulum prætexere luco.

Stat. Sylv. v. 3. 47.

^s Cohort. ad Gent. p. 44. ed. Potteri.

^t Univer. Hist. v. 1. p. 427. See p. 445.

^u See Dr. Pococke's account of the pyramids, *Observations on Egypt*, v. 1. p. 40-67. Dr. Shaw (*Travels*, p. 418, 1st ed.) objects against the pyramids of
Cephrenes

The pyramids were not only places of sepulture, but of religious worship. They were commonly called the columns or altars of the gods^w. On the top there was a platform^x, where the sacred rites might be celebrated; and they were surrounded with buildings, which probably were colleges for the priests^y. That the pyramids were altars is a point which cannot be disputed; but it is no just inference from hence, that they were not also sepulchres. For altars were constant appendages to the sepulchres of such

Cephrenes and *Mycerinus* being sepulchres, because “no passage was left open into them as into the great pyramid.” But the entrance into the great pyramid was at first *shut up*. Pococke, v. 1. p. 234, 240, 244. The case was probably the same as to the other two.

^w See Kircher, (*Oedipus Ægyptiacus*, Syntag. iv. c. 12. p. 309, 310.) who cites several authorities to prove that the pyramids were altars, besides that line of the poet,

Votaque pyramidum celsas solvuntur ad aras.

The steps, by which they ascended to the top, were called by some *βωμίδες*, little altars. Herodot. l. 2. c. 125.

^x Univ. Hist. ubi supra, p. 432.

^y Id. ib. p. 440.

men

men as were deified, if not of all other persons^z. They were sometimes placed upon the monument^a, which exactly answers to the case before us. In honour of the Grecian heroes, who fell in the defence of their country at Thermopylæ, altars were used instead of sepulchres^b. Nay, funeral piles were constructed and deemed as altars^c. From the pyramids being altars, therefore, we may rather infer that they were also sepulchres than the contrary. Now, if they were royal sepulchres, monuments, and altars, they were certainly consecrated to the worship

^z Hence we read of the *ara sepulchri*, Virg. *Æn.* VI. 177. and of the *aræ sepulchrales*, Ovid. *Metamorph.* VIII. 480. See Virg. *Æn.* V. 47, 48. III. 305. Altars were sometimes only a heap of green turf: *Araque gramineo viridi de cespite fiat.* Ovid. *Trist.* V. 9. And such altars were, it is probable, raised at all graves.

^a In eo monumento solium porphyretici marmoris superstante Lunensi ara. Sueton. *Ner.* c. 50.

^b Βωμος δ' ο ταφος. Diodor. *Sic.* l. xi. p. 412. ed. Weßeling.

^c Pyra — quæ in modum aræ construi lignis solebat. Servius in Virg. *Æn.* VI. 177.

of the Egyptian monarchs. At every common sepulchre, prayers, sacrifices, and libations, were offered to the dead by the ancient nations: and, amongst the Egyptians in particular, as we have already seen, a temple and a tomb were erected to the same deity. The great height of the pyramids well agrees with the opinion of their being the sepulchral monuments and altars of the Egyptian monarchs. High columns and pyramids, over the tombs of persons of the greatest distinction^d, corresponded to their former state and dignity, and were designed to announce their exaltation, after death, to the rank of the celestial gods.

Some

^d Servius, on Virg. *Æn.* XI. 489, says, *Apud majores, nobiles, aut sub montibus altis, aut in ipsis montibus sepeliabantur; unde natum est, ut, super cadavera, aut pyramides aut ingentes collocarentur columnæ.* See above, p. 380, note ^f. Concerning an *ara sepulchri* Virgil says, *cœlo educere certant.* *Æn.* VI. 178. Every one knows that high altars were raised to the celestial gods, amongst whom we are to reckon such human gods as were supposed to be advanced to heaven. *Jovi, omnibusque cœlestibus, excelsissimæ, (sc. aræ):*

Vestæ,

Some writers, however, being desirous of discovering, in every sacred building and rite of the Heathens, an allusion to elementary and sidereal deities, have fancied, that the pyramids, resembling (as they allege) a rising flame, which from a broad base gradually lessens and terminates in a point^e, were symbols of fire^f; and hence have concluded, that they were consecrated to the sun^g.

Vestæ, terræ, marique humiles, in mediis ædibus constituerentur. Vitruv. l. 4. c. 8. See Potter's Gr. Ant. v. I. b. ii. ch. 2. p. 178, 179. and below, p. 390, note^o.

^e Ad ignis speciem extenuatur in conum. Ammian. Marcellin. l. 22. c. 15. p. 262. Some derive *pyramid* from the Greek word *pur*, *fire*. Others, who more properly look for the etymology of it in the Coptic language, derive it either from *pouro*, *a king*, and *misi*, *a generation*, (Univ. Hist. ubi supra, p. 425.) or from *piromis*, which, according to Herodotus, (l. 2. c. 143, 144.) denotes, in the language of Egypt, *a worthy and brave man*. Perizon. Ægypt. Orig. tom. 1. p. 447.

^f Porphy. ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 3. c. 7. p. 98. D.

^g Cones and obelisks, it is said, were dedicated to the sun. Porphy. ubi supra. Hermatiles ap. Tertullian. de spectaculis, c. 8. p. 76. ed. Rigalt. 1675. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 8. tom. 2. p. 735. ed. Harduin.

But we are told, concerning the great pyramid, (what is probably true of the rest,) that it does not terminate in a point, as mathematical pyramids do, but in a flat, or square, consisting of eleven large stones^h. The reason, why they frequently made use of the pyramidal figure for these monuments, probably was it's being the most permanent form of structureⁱ. However this may be, certain it is in fact, that, though obelisks and pyramidal pillars might be originally consecrated to the elements^k, they were afterwards erected to such gods as had been men. Jupiter Melichius, Juno, Apollo, Bacchus, Venus, and other deities of human origin, were worshipped under the form of obelisks and pyramids^l. The mere figure, therefore, of the
pyramids

^h Univ. Hist. p. 432. ⁱ Id. ib. p. 430.

^k According to Sanchoniathon, (ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. i. p. 35. A.) Ufous consecrated two columns to the *wind* and *fire*. See above, note ^f.

^l Pausanias in Corinth. p. 132, 133. Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 38. p. 401. ed. Davif. Clem. Alexandr. Stromat.

pyramids of Egypt, creates no sort of presumption that they were appropriated to the elements. And, even allowing them to have been intended as emblems of fire, in this view they well agree with the idea the ancients entertained of the souls of their deified men, as originally taken from the igneous element in the heavenly regions, and as being now returned to the celestial luminaries, which were imagined to consist of fire^m. But the objection we are considering was advanced, by some of the heathen philosophers, merely to throw a veil over that shocking absurdity, the worship of mortal gods, of which the pyramids furnish the most striking and lasting evidence. Not only were pyramids and temples, but,

IV. The OTHER PLACES most usually consecrated to the gods, in very an-

mat. l. 1. p. 418. Scholiast on the Vespæ of Aristophanes, v. 870.

^m Empedocles held *πυρὶ καὶ τὰ ἀστέρα*, (Plutarch. Placit. Philosoph. l. 2. c. 13.) and so did the ancients in general. Horace calls them *igneas arces*.

tient times, were places of sepulture, where divine honours were paid to the dead.

This was the case more particularly with respect to the *caves*, the *houses*, the *highways*, the *groves*, and the *mountains*, where the gods were worshipped.

1. That, in the very early ages of the world, the Heathens paid their worship to the gods in *caves* and *caverns*, at the bottom of mountains and rocks, is a matter not subject to disputeⁿ. The question here is, What gods were worshipped in these places? To which I answer, not the gods styled *supernal*; because they were worshipped upon high altars^o, which were not suited to a cave. The *infernal* gods, on the other hand, were

ⁿ See Bryant's Mythol. v. 1. p. 217 & seq. The caves, of which I here speak, are not to be confounded with the hollows and fissures upon the tops of mountains and rocks, though the distinction between them has not been always attended to.

^o Altaria ab altitudine dicta sunt: quod antiqui diis superis in ædificiis a terra exaltatis sacra faciebant. Pompon. Festus. Schedius de diis German. p. 503. See above, p. 386. note ^d.

worshipped

worshipped without any altars, or upon very low ones^p. To these gods, therefore, it is reasonable to suppose, caves were appropriated^q. Before men had furnished themselves with more convenient habitations, they took shelter in caves and dens. These were their dwellings while they lived, and their graves when they died^r. And we have seen, that, wherever men were buried, there they were worshipped. Consequently, caves being places of sepulture, they could not but be the scenes where idolaters worshipped the dead. Indeed, what other gods were likely to reside in those repositories of the dead but such as lay buried in them?

^p Potter's Gr. Antiq. v. 1. b. 2. c. 2. p. 178, 179.

^q Atque ut aræ superis, ita antra erant diis inferis destinata. Tomasin. de Donariis veterum, c. 5.

^r Sepulchra fuerunt olim veteribus, quæ etiam antea domos præbuerunt, speluncæ. Petit. Leg. Attic. p. 595. Bos (Antiq. of Greece, ch. 23. p. 426.) has shewn that caves were sepulchres.

A very learned writer* would persuade us, “ that the reverence paid to caves “ and grottos arose from a notion, that “ they were *a representation of the world*”. And it must be acknowledged, that this is the view given us of them by Porphyry†, in his treatise upon the grotto of the Nereids described or invented by Homer“. But Porphyry’s explication of this grotto receives no support from Homer, and has been pronounced, by the most impartial and capable judges, *a laboured and distant allegory*“. It was, at best, a mere speculation of the learned, remote from the conception and creed of the people : and therefore does not belong to our present subject. We are to pass the same judgement on what Porphyry says, when he represents the Arcadians as

* Bryant, Mythol. v. 1. p. 232.

† Εἰκόνα φεροντος σπηλαια τε κοσμε. De Antro Nymph. p. 254. See also p. 252, 262.

“ Odyss. l. 13. v. 103.

“ Pope’s Homer, in the note on v. 124.

worshipping

worshipping the moon in caves^x. He only gives us his own physical explication of (what was very different from it) the popular and civil theology. Nothing is so likely to prevent us from forming just ideas of the established religion of the Heathens as not constantly distinguishing between that and the glosses of the philosophers; many of which were invented merely to support it's reputation, and were propagated with peculiar zeal after Christianity had raised up new and powerful enemies against it.

It may be farther objected, that *Mithras* was worshipped in a cave^y, though, according to Hesychius^z, Strabo^a, Suidas^b, and other writers, this Persian deity was the sun. But Mithras, even sup-

^x Porphyr. de Antro Nymph. p. 262.

^y Porphyr. de Antro Nymphar. p. 262. Bryant's Mythol. v. i. p. 217, 224. Kircher's Oedip. Ægypt. Syntag. 3. c. 7. p. 216. Statius, Theb. l. i. v. 719.

^z In voc. Μιθρας, ο ηλιος παρα Περσαις.

^a Τιμωσι δε και ηλιον, ον καλουν Μιθραν. Strabo, l. 15. p. 1064.

^b Μιθραν νομιζουσιν οι Περσαις ειναι τον ηλιον. Suidas in voc.

posing him to have been a man, might be put for the sun, as Apollo and Osiris were, though the former was one of the twelve greater gods, who were all natives of the earth, and the latter had been king of Egypt. It is not necessary to inquire here on what accounts^c Mithras was put for the sun, though a human spirit; but the idea of him here given is supported by the authority of Statius,

^c Some human souls were said to be converted into celestial luminaries. Dissert. on Mir. p. 214. note ^f. Sometimes the presiding demon was called by the name of the celestial deity from whom he derived his authority. Ib. p. 175, note ^l, p. 179, note ^f. Those, who considered human figures as symbols, spoke of those symbols as being the gods they represented. According to Julius Firmicus, the Persians represented *fire* under the image of a man and woman: (*Et viri et feminae simulachra ignis substantiam deputantes*, p. 11.) Why then might not they represent the sun under a human figure? Those, who regarded Mithras as a symbol of the sun, would call him by that name, though Mithras himself was the immediate object of worship to all, and to the people the sole object.

who

who makes Apollo, Osiris, and Mithras, to be one and the same person^d.

That Mithras was not that astronomical body we call the sun appears from the accounts given of him by the ancients. The Persians, according to Xenophon, paid their worship to the sun upon the summits of mountains^e: but Mithras was worshipped in a cave, and therefore as one of the *dii inferi*. The sun, considered as a natural divinity, was, by the Heathens, thought to be eternal^f. Mithras, on the other hand, according to the fabulous theogony of the Persians, was *born from a rock*, and from that rock begat Diorphus^g: a plain proof of their not

^d ———— Seu te roseum Titana vocari
Gentis Achemeniæ ritu, seu præstat Osirin
Frugiferum, seu Persei sub rupibus antri
Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mitram.

Statius, Theb. I. 717.

See Lactantius, as here cited, in Veenhusen's edition.

^e Xenophon, l. viii. p. 233.

^f Diodorus Siculus, cited above, p. 308, note 2.

^g Justin. Martyr, cum Tryphone Dialog. p. 168.
Montfauc. tom. i. p. 368. Borlase, p. 145.

considering

considering him as one of the natural gods. *Mysteries*^h were instituted in honour of Mithras, and *human sacrifices*ⁱ were offered to him. Now both these circumstances, as will be shewn in the sequel, are proofs of his being regarded as a human spirit. Upon what ground could Tiridates say, *that he would worship Nero equally with Mithras*^k, if the latter had not been a man as well as the former? There was a king of Egypt of the name of *Mestres*, who reigned in *Heliopolis*, or *city of the sun*^l, and who is supposed by some to be the same with Mithras. Servius makes Mithras the same as the younger Belus^m.

Both

^h Mention is made of his mysteries by Justin Martyr in the place referred to in the preceding note, and many other writers. See Schedius de Diis German. p. 147, note **.

ⁱ See Hyde, Rel. vet. Pers. p. 112. Æl. Lampr. in Commod. ⁷⁷² Sacra Mithriaca homicidio vero polluit.

^k Eum perinde ac Mithram se adoraturum pronuntiavit. Hyde, c. 4. p. 112.

^l Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. 36. c. 14. p. 735. ed. Harduin.

^m Belus minor, qui et Mithres. Servius on Æn. I. 646. The Persians might receive his worship from the Assyrians,

Both these opinions suppose him to have been a manⁿ.

I cannot conclude this head without observing, that, according to Mr. Bryant^o, most of the temples amongst the Persians were caverns in rocks. Now, according to Hyde^p and others, certain sacred grottos, hewn out of a rock, were tombs. Le Bruyn^q likewise, and Thevenot^q, considered them as places of burial. It is probable therefore that the Persian temples were both temples and tombs;

Affyrians, as they did that of Venus Urania. Herodot. l. 1. c. 131.

ⁿ It may reconcile some to this opinion to be informed, that it was holden by so eminent a writer as Mosheim. He has supported it by a train of reasoning different from that here used, to which I refer the reader. See Mosheim's Latin translation of Cudworth, tom. I. p. 421, in the note, which is abridged by the learned Brucker, Hist. Critic. Philosoph. tom. I. p. 169, 170. Mosheim considered Oromasdes and Arimanius as being of human origin. According to Plutarch, Mithras was a *mediator*, or middle god, between them. Is. & Osir. p. 369. E.

^o Mythol. v. 1. p. 222, 223.

^p Rel. vet. Pers. c. 23. Bryant, p. 222.

^q Ap. Bryant, p. 224, 225.

and

and consequently the gods, worshipped in them, were departed heroes. This very much confirms what was advanced above^{*}, concerning the objects of worship in Persia.

2. When men quitted dens and caves, and, for their better accommodation, built *houses*, these became places of sepulture, and consequently the scenes of the *parentalia*, or of those divine honours which the family paid to the manes of their ancestors[†]. Every one knows that the fire-hearths were sacred to the household-gods[‡], the *dii penates*, or *lares*, the founders and guardians of the family.

3. Afterwards men were buried by the sides of *high-ways*[§]; and then we read of

^{*} Ch. i. sect. i. p. 47, & seq.

[†] Apud majores, omnes in suis domibus sepeliebantur. Unde ortum est ut lares colerentur in domibus. Servius on *Æn.* VI. 152. See him also on V. 64.

[‡] See Plutarch. Vit. Alexand. p. 696. A. Comp. Vit. Coriolan. p. 224. D.

[§] See Bos's *Antiq. of Greece*, ch. 23. p. 425. Pausanias takes notice of the temples and sepulchres on the high-ways.

of the *lares viales*, who were the ghosts of good men^w; of whom the traveller asked a prosperous journey^x, and whose monuments were designed to remind him of his own mortality^y. These manes were thought to be highly pleased with the addresses of the passengers, which was one reason why the dead were buried by the high-ways^z.

4. *Groves* are frequently spoken of, in the history of all mankind, as places of religious worship. As such they were used by the servants of the true God^a,

high-ways. Κατα τας οδους θεων εστιν ιερα, και ηρωων και ανδρων ταφοι. Attic. l. i. c. 29. p. 70.

^w Manes piorum, qui lares viales sunt. Servius on Æn. III. 302.

^x Invoco vos, lares viales, ut me bene juvetis.

Plautus, Merc. v. 2.

^y Monumenta a monendo quæ sunt in sepulchris. Et ideo secundum viam, quo prætereuntes admoneant et se fuisse, et illos esse, mortales. Varro de Lingua Latina, l. v. Morestelli Pompa feralis, l. 3. c. 12. ap. Græv. tom. 12. p. 1414.

^z See Guther de Jure Manium, l. 2. c. 13. Græv. ib. p. 1191.

^a Gen. 13. 18. ch. 21. 23.

perhaps

perhaps on account of their solitude and solemnity, and the protection they afforded from the scorching heat of the sun, which was a great recommendation of them in hot climates. The Heathens erected temples^b and altars, and performed the several rites of idolatry, in thick woods, which struck the worshippers with awe, and gave the priests an opportunity of carrying on their impostures. The groves and trees were consecrated to particular divinities^c, called by their names^d, and worshipped^e as their

^b Groves themselves are sometimes spoken of as temples, and were perhaps the most antient ones.

^c *Arborum genera numinibus suis dicata perpetuo servantur.* Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. 12. c. 1.

^d *Lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.* Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 9.

^e Sanchoniathon says, (ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. c. 10. p. 34. B.) *They consecrated the productions of the earth, called them gods, and worshipped them.* Trees were addressed as intelligent beings, and in the very same style as the gods themselves to whom they were consecrated. *Hæc sacrata quercus, et quicquid deorum, audiat fœdus a vobis ruptum.* Liv. l. 3. §. 25.

symbols

symbols and representatives, or as having their respective gods belonging to them.

But the single question before us here is, Who the gods themselves were whom the Heathens worshipped in groves? Now there is scarce any point, in which the ancients are more generally agreed, than they are in representing sacred groves as places of sepulture^f, dedicated to the worship of hero-gods. Servius asserts, that the groves were considered as the dwellings of the souls of heroes^g. Cicero appeals to the Alban tombs, and groves, and altars^h. And many instances

^f Mortuorum sepulchra erant sub arboribus, lucisque circumsepta. La Cerda, ad *Æn.* VI. 763. It was a law amongst the antient Etruscans, *Si quis sepulchrum proprium non habuerit, in nemorosa sylva sepeliatur.* Etrusc. Fragm. l. 3. p. 176. See *Gen.* 35. 8. 2 Kings 23. 15, 16.

^g Dicuntur heroum animæ lucos tenerè. Servius on *Æn.* I. 445. Lucum nunquam ponit Virgilius sine religione: namque in ipsis habitant manes piorum. Id. on *Æn.* III. 302.

^h Vos, Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque obtestor, vosque, Albanorum obrutæ aræ. *Orat. pro Milone*, c. 31.

are on record of the dedication of woods, together with priests and altars, to the spirits of deified men and womenⁱ. Augustus consecrated one of these places to the *dii manes*^k in general.

Groves were considered as the *habitations*^l of the gods, as we are expressly informed, and might have inferred from their being the places of their burial. But they neither were, nor could be, considered as the habitations of the sun, moon, and stars, though they were adapted to the ideas the Gentiles had formed of the terrestrial gods. The shade and coolness of groves^m, the uncommon lof-

ⁱ To Anchises, Virg. *Æn.* V. 760. To Juno, I. 445. To Hector, III. 302. To Egeria, who was the wife of Numa, Ovid. *Fasti*, III. 262-276. See Virg. *Æn.* IX. 3, 4. & VII. 171.

^k Boissard. *Topogr.* tom. I. p. 50.

^l *Numen inest*. Ovid. *Fasti*, III. 295. *Habitat deus*. Virg. *Æn.* VIII. 352. See *Æn.* VI. 673. Ovid, *Am.* l. 3. el. I. 1. Lucan, III. 423 & seq. Seneca, ep. 41.

^m *Lætissimus umbra*. Virg. *Æn.* I. 445.

tiness and beauty of the treesⁿ that composed them, the fountains^o within them, or the rivers^p that ran out of them, were intended and supposed to render them an agreeable abode to the dead^q, having been the objects of their delight when living. Hence Virgil describes departed heroes as saying^r,

———— Unsettled, we remove,
As pleasure calls, from verdant grove to grove;
Stretch'd on the flow'ry meads, at ease, we lie,
And hear the silver rills run bubbling by. *Pitt.*

ⁿ The temple of Mercury had (δενδρεα υρανομηκεα) *trees that reached up to heaven*, according to Herodotus, l. 2. c. 138. The grove of Neptune had trees παντοδαπα καλλος υψος τε δαιμονιον. Platon. Critias, tom. 3. p. 117. ed. Serran.

^o Και βωμον ποιησατ' εν αλσει δενδρεντι,
Αγχι μαλα κεινης καλλιξεου. Homer. Hymn. in Apoll. See Horat. Art. poet. v. 16.

^p See Pausanias, Corinth. p. 198.

^q Nemora enim aptabant sepulchris; ut in amœnitate animæ forent post vitam. Servius on Virg. Æn. V. 760.

^r Nulli certa domus. Lucis habitamus opacis,
Riparumque toros, et prata recentia rivis
Incolimus. Æn. VI. 673.

5. Amongst the places consecrated to the heathen gods I must not omit to mention the summits of *mountains**, whether formed by nature or constructed by art†.

It has been imagined by some, that these places were appropriated to the natural gods. But the mistake is owing to their not distinguishing between the *natural* gods and those styled *celestial*. Under the latter are comprehended such men as were thought to have ascended into heaven, of whom Jupiter was the chief. To him every mountain was esteemed sacred, according to Melanthes‡.

* If the reader be ignorant of the antient custom of worshipping upon mountains, he may consult Pausanias, p. 175, 196, 197, 892. Virg. *Æn.* V. 760. Potter, *Gr. Antiq.* v. 1. p. 179. v. 2. p. 238, 239. Freytag. *de sacris Gentium Montibus*. Bryant's *Myth.* v. 1. p. 119, 235, & seq. Sched. *de Diis Germ.* p. 502. Le Clerc and Patrick on *Levit.* xxvi. 30.

† As to artificial mounts, see above, p. 380, notes f, g, and Gibbons's *History*, v. 3. p. 83.

‡ *De Sacrificiis.* Παν δὲ ὄρος τὸ Διὸς ὄρος ὀνομαζέται. Potter, v. 1. p. 179. Bryant, v. 1. p. 238.

Kings and great men were buried upon mountains^w, (though sometimes at the feet of them^x.) The places of their burial, in which they were thought to reside, were certainly the scenes of their worship, agreeably to the constant custom of antiquity. Accordingly we find, that sacrifices were offered to the dead, and their ghosts consulted, upon mountains^y. The reason assigned by the Gentiles, for worshipping the gods on these elevated situations, determines who they were. Hills and mountains, they said, brought men nearer to the gods, and thereby procured for them the advantage of being better heard^z: a reason not at all adapted

D d 3 to

^w Deut. xxxii. 50. Josh. xxiv. 30, 33. See the next note.

^x ——— Fuit ingens monte sub alto

Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum.

Æn. XI. 849.

Apud majores, nobiles, aut sub montibus altis, aut in ipsis montibus, sepeliebantur. Servius in loc.

^y See Spencer de Leg. Hebr. p. 382.

^z Των ευχολων αγγοθεν επαΐεσι, sc. οι θεοι. Lucian. de Syr. Dea, p. 672. ed. Amstel. This is the reason assigned

to the idea entertained of the natural gods: not of the *air* around them; neither of the *earth* nor *sea* beneath them; nor even of the *sun* above them, because they conceived of that glorious luminary as *seeing and hearing all things*^a. But, as to the gods taken from amongst men, whom they might naturally imagine to be incapable of hearing at a great distance, it could not but be judged necessary to get as near to them as possible, for the sake of being heard in their religious addresses. It is probably for the same reason, that the modern Italians, like the idolaters of old times, choose to

assigned for worshipping the gods upon mountains by the Syrians. That the common opinion of the gods was the same with theirs appears from the following censure of it: Non exorandus est ædituus, ut nos ad aures simulachri, quasi magis exaudiri possimus, admittat. Senec. ep. 41. p. 453, ed. Lipfii. The Getes must have thought their god quite out of the reach of hearing, even from the highest mountain; for they sent a messenger to him every year to inform him of their wants. Herodot. l. 4. c. 94.

^a Ἡελίος ὁ, ὃς παντ' ἐφορεῖς, καὶ παντ' ἐπακροῖς.

Hom. Il. III. 277.

worship

worship their saints upon high places^b. I shall only add, that the gods were supposed to be highly delighted with eminences or mountains^c; and these situations were rendered still more agreeable to them, by temples, and groves, and springs, and whatever else could gratify human ghosts that preserved all the dispositions of their former state. To such ghosts, therefore, the worship upon high places was directed^d.

I have now shewn to what gods divine honours were paid, at sepulchres, in temples, in pyramids, in caves, in hou-

^b Sharp's Letters from Italy, p. 305.

^c The Grecian Jupiter is thus described :

Αυτος δ'εν κορυφῇσι καθέζετο νυδαὶ γαιῶν. Hom. II. VIII. 51.

The pleasure the gods take in high places is given as the reason of constructing temples upon them in Japan. Kæmfer, History of Japan, v. 2. b. 5. c. 3. p. 417. Bryant, v. 1. p. 238.

^d I acknowledge, that those, who thought the Persians and others worshipped only the natural gods, represent them as performing that worship upon mountains : but, if we allow the fact, that the Persians worshipped only the natural gods, they must, in worshipping them upon mountains, have acted upon principles different from those stated above. But the fact itself is disputable.

ses, by the side of high-ways, in groves, and upon mountains. These were the places most usually consecrated to the gods in ancient times; and they in a manner include all the rest. And, as in all the fore-mentioned places deified men and women were worshipped, the preceding induction of particulars abundantly demonstrates the general prevalence of that worship over the heathen world.

V. The STATUES and IMAGES of the gods, in human form, were representations of deified men and women.

In the rude ages of antiquity, uncarved stones and pillars, boughs also and stumps of trees, and other pieces of wood, were consecrated to the gods^e; to those styled natural, as some maintain,

^e Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. l. 1. p. 418. Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 38. p. 401. ed. Davis. Herodian. l. 5. c. 5. Tacit. Hist. l. 2. c. 3. Chron. Alexandr. p. 89. Schedius de Diis German. p. 505. — Clemens Alexandrinus (in Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 40.) says, *Οι πων ανθρωπων παλαιότεροι ξυλα ιδρυοντο περιφανη, και κιονας ιςων εκ λιθων.* Qui hominum erant antiquiores *ligna* erigebant

maintain ^f, and certainly to those who had their original from mortality^g. But these things were not designed as resemblances, but merely as signs and sym-

erigebant insignia, et columnas ponebant ex *lapidibus*. Many particular examples of both may be found in the places here referred to.

^f Sanchoniathon referred to above, p. 388, note ^k, is speaking of the most antient times. Of those times Maimonides also speaks, when he says, Zabii erexerunt stellis imagines. Mor. Nevoch. pars III. c. 29. p. 423. Mede however was of opinion, that both *pillars* and *images* were, by original institution, peculiar to demons, though, through some confusion, they were afterwards ascribed to other deities. Works, p. 632. The mistake, if it was one, might be owing to their referring to the stars themselves the worship paid to the demons, or deified human spirits, that were supposed to inhabit them. No mistake will appear more natural, if you consider how often a star and it's presiding demon, or the ultimate and immediate object of worship, are confounded together.

^g Τῶτων δὲ τελευτήσαντων, τὰς ἀπολειφθέντας φησὶ ῥαβδὰς αὐτοῖς ἀφιερῶσαι, καὶ τὰς στήλας προσκυνεῖν, καὶ τῶτοις εορτὰς ἀγεῖν κατ' ἔτος. Sanchon. ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. p. 35. B. These pillars, or stones, were set up at sepulchres. Homer. Il. xi. 371. xvii. 434. Pindar. Nem. Ode x. v. 125. See also Pausanias in Corinthaic. c. 29. In Achaic. c. 22. In Bœot. c. 24. See likewise Borlase's Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 186 & seq.

bols,

hols, of the gods. Nevertheless, the Greeks, universally, and from the most remote antiquity, paid the same divine worship to these *signs* as to the *statues* of the gods^h.

When the arts of sculpture and statuary were invented, a human form was given to these substitutes of the heathen gods, that they might bear a resemblance to the objects they represented. Those objects, therefore, were men and women, not the elements and heavenly bodies ; the form of the one no way resembling that of the otherⁱ. There is the more reason to believe, that the images of the gods in human form were intended to represent human personages, as the custom of making these images had

^h Τα δὲ ἐν παλαιότερα καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι Ἕλλησι, τιμὰς θεῶν ἀντὶ ἀγαλμάτων εἶχον ἀργοὶ λίθοι. Pausan. in Achaicis, p. 579. Concerning the worship of consecrated stones, the reader may consult Bp. Lowth's note on Is. lvii. 6.

ⁱ When they aimed at making some resemblance of the sun, the Pæonians represented him by a disk. Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 38. p. 402.

it's rise in Egypt^k; where dead men were worshipped, first "in *person*, that is, in
" their *mummies*, which, when lost, consumed, or destroyed, were worshipped
" by *representation*, under an image made
" with it's legs bound up, in likeness
" of the mummies^l." The Persians, who were said to worship only, or principally, elementary and fiderial deities, had no statues of their gods at all; and for this very reason, because they did not partake of human nature^m. Nay, some nations, whose gods were dead men, worshipped them without statuesⁿ. And, where all the hero-gods had their images, yet there was even *there* no image of the sun or moon, because their aspects were conspicuous to all^o. It is natural to conclude, from these premises, that

^k Herodot. l. 2. c. 4.

^l Warburton's Div. Legat. v. 2. p. 290. ed. 1755.

^m See above, p. 47, concerning the Persians.

ⁿ As the Germans, and the Romans during the time of Numa. Above, p. 40, 250.

^o See the account given of the Syrians, p. 201.

the representation of the gods under human figures is a proof that those gods had once been men. The Fathers had very much the same view of this subject^p.

Balbus^q, indeed, says, “ that from a
 “ *physical* reason has proceeded a great
 “ multitude of gods, who, being repre-
 “ sented in human form, have supplied
 “ the poets with fables”. Varro also was of opinion, that the images of the gods were originally intended to direct such, as were acquainted with the secret

^p Quid denique ipsa simulacra volunt, quæ aut mortuorum aut absentium monumenta sunt? et seq. Lactant. Div. Institut. l. 2. c. 2. p. 116, 117. Et ideo simulacra constituunt, quæ quia sunt mortuorum imagines, similia mortuis sunt; omni enim sensu carent. Id. ib. Dum reges suos colunt religione, dum defunctos eos desiderant in imaginibus videre, &c. Minuc. Fel. p. 157, 158. ed. Varior. 1672. Concerning the sentiments of Eusebius on this subject, see Div. Legat. v. 1. p. 97, 98, in the note.

^q Ap. Cicer. Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 24. Alia quoque ex ratione, et quidem physica, magna fluxit multitudo deorum: qui induti specie humana fabulas poetis suppeditaverunt.

doctrine,

doctrine, to the contemplation of the real gods, the soul of the world, and it's constituent parts ; the mind which is in the body of man bearing the nearest resemblance to the immortal (and universal) mind^r. And Maximus Tyrius largely defends the use of these images upon the same ground ; and pleads, that, of all others, they are the most proper symbols of the gods^s.

^r Interpretationes physicas sic Varro commendat, ut dicat antiquos simulachra deorum, et insignia, ornatusque confinxisse : quæ cùm oculis animadvertissent hi, qui adissent doctrinæ mysteria, possent animam mundi ac partes ejus, id est, deos veros, animo videre : quorum qui simulachra specie hominis fecerunt, hoc videri sequutos, quod mortalium animus, qui est in corpore humano, simillimus est immortalis animi ; tanquam si vasa ponerentur causa notandorum deorum, et in Liberi æde cœnophorum sisteretur, quod significaret vinum, per id quod continet, id quod continetur : ita per simulachrum, quod formam haberet humanam significari animam rationalem, quòd eo velut vase natura ista soleat contineri, cujus naturæ deum volunt esse, vel deos. Varro ap. August. Civ. Dei, l. 7. c. 5.

^s Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 38. Plotinus also speaks of statues as designed to fix men's thoughts on the soul of the world. Ennead. IV. l. 3. c. 11. p. 380.

This

This platonic philosopher, and also the two Stoics, Varro and Balbus, were zealous advocates for the physical explanation of the fables, to which they always had recourse when pressed with the difficulties of their literal meaning. No wonder, then, that they should represent images in human form as symbols or emblems of the natural gods. How far this was the real case is a matter that may come under future consideration. It is sufficient here to observe, that the images, or human figures, of which we are speaking, represented real men and women, such as were supposed to be advanced to the rank of gods and goddesses, and were worshipped as such: that these deities were the immediate objects of the established worship, not the natural gods, to whom there could be only a remote and ultimate reference: that this reference was understood only by those who were instructed in the mysteries of the heathen religion: that, consequently,
the

the common people worshipped images, not as signs or emblems of the deified objects of nature, but, as what they really were, representations of deified men and women: and that the civil theology was founded upon this hypothesis, or upon the literal history of those fables which the philosophers converted into allegory. In a word, the very objection we are considering, instead of overturning, establishes, both the humanity of the direct objects of the established worship amongst the Heathens, and the proof of it drawn from the representation of them under human figures.

These figures, as well as the human personages whom they represented, were deemed gods, and worshipped as such^{*}; not, indeed, on account of the senseless materials of which they were composed, but, as the Heathens alleged, of their

^{*} Quisenim dubitat horum imagines consecratas vulgus orare, et publice colere? Minuc. Fel. p. 217. ed. Var. Colitur pro Jove forma Jovis. Ovid. Ep. ex Ponto, l. 2. ep. viii. v. 62.

divine inhabitants". The priests pretended, by certain rites of consecration, to allure or compel demons, that is, the manes of the dead, to enter into, and to animate, their statues, and to detain them there^w. And, though many images and statues were erected to the same god, yet in each of them he was supposed to be personally present^x. Now this idea of sacred images, as the fixed residence of the gods, destroys the supposition of their being immediately representatives of the elements or planets; and at the same time corresponds to, and confirms, the opinion entertained of

^u Eos in his colimus, eosque veneramur, quos dedicatio infert sacra, et fabrilibus efficit inhabitare simulacris. Arnob. l. 6. p. 203. See Celsus ap. Origen. contr. Cels. l. 7. p. 373.

^w Sometimes, to prevent his desertion, the statue of the god was chained to its pedestal. Diodor. Sic. l. 17. p. 191. ed. Weffeling.

^x In simulacris dii habitant: singuline in singulis totis, an partiliter atque in membra divisi? Nam neque unus deus in compluribus potis est uno tempore inesse simulacris, neque rursus in partes sectione interveniente divisus.

them

them by the Heathens, who made them, as *bodies*, to be informed with demons, or the spirits of departed men, as with *souls*^r. And, as the worship of images became almost the universal religion of the gentile world, this affords an undeniable proof of the human origin of the heathen gods, whose bodily features those images were said to represent*.

VI. The WORSHIP of the heathen nations corresponded to their idea of human ghosts, and was founded upon it.

All religious worship among the Gentiles, and indeed among all other people, has ever been adapted to the opinion they formed of it's object. Those Gentiles who, by the sole use of their rational faculties, formed just conceptions of the spirituality and purity of the divine being, thought that he was best honoured by a *pure mind*. Such of them as regarded the luminaries of heaven, as beneficent and divine intelligences that governed the world, worshipped them with

^r Mede's works, p. 632. * Eusebius, ib. p. 680.

*hymns and praises*², in testimony of their gratitude; or by *kissing the hand*, and *bowing the head*³ to them, in acknowledgement of their sovereign dominion. This seems to have been the only homage they received from mankind in the most early ages of the world. At least, no other is taken notice of in the book of Job, or in the writings of Moses. When dead men were deified, it became necessary to frame a worship adapted to please and gratify human ghosts, or rather such spirits as they were *conceived* to be. And I will here attempt to shew, that the established worship of the Heathens was built upon these conceptions, and that this circumstance points out the human origin of the more immediate objects of that worship.

² Mede's Works, p. 636.

³ *If I beheld the sun, or the moon, — and my mouth hath kissed my hand.* Job xxxi. 26, 27. The Israelites are forbidden *to worship*, or, as the original word imports, *to bend or bow down* to, the sun, moon, and stars. Deuter. iv. 19.

Before we enter upon this argument, we must imagine ourselves in the same situation as the ancient Heathens were, fill our minds with the same ideas they had, and recollect more especially what were their notions of human ghosts, and of their future state of existence. On the correspondence of their worship to these notions the force of the argument depends.

The obvious distinction between the soul and body of man, and the permanence of the former after the dissolution of the latter, could not but be admitted by all the nations that worshipped the dead. Happy would it have been had they gone no farther, except to assert a future state of retribution. But they gave an unbounded scope to their imaginations. They not only ascribed to separate spirits, as indeed they justly might, all their former mental affec-

E e 2. tions,

tions^b, but all the sensations^c, appetites, and passions, of their bodily state; such as hunger and thirst^d, and the propensities founded upon the difference of sexes^e. Ghosts were thought to be addicted to the same exercises and em-

^b Of the parental affection we have an amiable example in the ghost of Anchises. Virg. *Æn.* VI. 685. Proofs of the hatred ghosts bore to their enemies, both when living and after their deaths, are produced by Potter, B. 4. c. 8. p. 261. I shall add the following passage from Ovid, in *Ibidem*, v. 139.

———— Nec mors mihi finiet iras,

Sæva sed in manes manibus arma dabit:

Tunc quoque cum fuero vacuas dilapsus in auras,

Exanimis manes oderit umbra tuos.

See also Horace, *Carm.* V. 5. Virg. *Æn.* IV. 384. and the very characteristic description of the ghost of Ajax, Homer, *Odyss.* XI. 542. and of the other ghosts in the same book.

^c Hence that prayer, taken notice of above, that the earth might lie light or heavy on the dead.

^d This appears from their being provided, as it will be shewn they were, with the means of gratifying these appetites.

^e Hercules, though he feasted with the immortal gods, was wedded to Hebe. Homer, *Il.* XI. 602. Some have thought that ghosts could assume a human body.

ployments

ployments as had been their delight while men^f. And, though they could not be felt and handled^g, like bodies of flesh and blood, and were of a larger size^h; yet they had the same lineaments and features. Being an original part of the human frame, they were wounded whenever the body was, and retained the impress of their woundsⁱ.

Their idea of men's future state of existence was formed upon the model of our present condition. They lent money in this world upon bills payable in the

^f Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæstris,
&c. Virg. *Æn.* VI. 642.

———— Quæ gratia currûm
Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentis
Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.

Id. ib. v. 653.

Multo magis rectores quondam urbium recepti in cœlum curam regendorum hominum non relinquunt. Macrobius, in *Somn. Scip.* l. i. c. 9.

^g Homer, *Odyss.* XI. 205.

^h Et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.

Virg. *Æn.* IV. 654.

ⁱ Homer, *Odyss.* XI. 40. Virg. *Æn.* VI. 495.

next*. Between both worlds there was thought to be an open intercourse; departed spirits bestowing favours upon their survivors, and receiving from them gifts and presents. These gifts were sometimes supposed to be conveyed into the other world in their own natural form: for they put into the mouth of a dead man a piece of money, to pay Charon for his passage over Styx; and a cake, of which honey was the principal ingredient, to pacify the growling Cerberus¹. Those things, whose natural outward form was destroyed, did not altogether perish, but passed into the other world. The souls of brutes survived the dissolution of their bodies; and even inanimate substances, after they were con-

* This is related of the Celts or Gauls. *Pecunias mutuas, quæ his apud inferos redderentur, dare solitos.* Pythagoras approved the custom: for our author adds, *Dicerem stultos, nisi idem braccati sensissent, quod palliatus Pythagoras credidit.* Valerius Maximus, lib. 2, c. 6. §. 10.

¹ Bos, Gr. Antiq. p. 410.

fumed by fire, still, in some degree, subsisted; images flying off from them, which as exactly resembled them as a ghost did the living man. Hence it was, that, upon the funeral piles of the dead, they were accustomed to throw letters, in order to their being read by their departed friends^m. And being able, as they imagined, to transmit to the dead whatever gifts they pleased, in one form or other; foodⁿ, and raiment^o, and armour^p, were either deposited in their graves, or consumed in the same fire with their own bodies, together with

^m Diodorus Siculus, l. v. p. 352. relates this circumstance of the Gauls.

ⁿ See below, under sacrifices.

^o Solon (according to Plutarch, vit. Solon. p. 90. C.) made a law to prevent the burying with the dead more than three garments. This law was afterwards adopted by the Romans, and inserted in the 12 tables. *Sumtum minuto; tria, si volet, ricinia adhibeto.* The clothes of the dead were sometimes thrown upon the funeral pile. Bos, p. 422. Kennett, Rom. Antiq. p. 357.

^p The arms of soldiers were thrown upon their pyre. Bos, ch. 22. p. 422.

their wives and concubines⁹, their favourite slaves⁹, and brute animals⁹, and whatever else had been the object of their affection in life[†].

Accordingly we find the parrot of Corinna, after his death, in elysium*.

⁹ This is still a custom in some parts of the east, and it is of great antiquity. Evadne (by Ovid called Iphias) threw herself upon the funeral pile of Capaneus, uttering this prayer: *Accipe me, Capaneu.* Ovid. *Ars Am.* l. 3. v. 21. Statius, *Thebaid.* l. 12. v. 801. Propertius, l. 15, 21.

[†] *Servi et clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, justis funeribus confectis, una cremabantur.* Cæsar, *B. G.* l. 6. c. 18. It was the same both in Mexico and Peru; on the death of the emperors and other eminent persons, many of their attendants were put to death, that they might accompany them into the other world, and support their dignity. See Robertson's *Hist. of North America*, v. 3. p. 211, 259.

^{*} Cæsar, *ubi supra.* At the funeral of Patroclus, four horses and nine favourite dogs were thrown upon the pyre. Homer, *Il.* 23, v. 171.

[†] *Moris fuerat, ut cum his rebus homines sepelirentur quas dilexerant vivi.* Servius on *Æn.* X. 827. See also Cæsar, l. 6. c. 18.

* *Pittacus has inter, nemorali sede receptus,*

Convertit volucres in sua verba piæ.

Ovid, *Amor.* l. II. el. 6. v. 57.

Orpheus,

Orpheus, when in the same happy abode, appears in his sacerdotal robe, striking his lyre; and the warriors were furnished with their horses, arms, and chariots, which Virgil calls *inanes*, *empty*, *airy*, and *unsubstantial*, being such shades and phantoms of their former chariots as the ghosts themselves were of men". In a word, whatever was burnt or interred with the dead, their ghosts were thought to receive and use. It is observable, that, as the ghosts appeared with the wounds made in them before their separation from the body, so the arms, that had been stained with blood before they were burnt, appeared bloody afterwards^w; and, in like manner, the money-bills and letters, that had been consumed in the flames, were certainly thought to retain the impression of what had been written in them.

Such notions of separate spirits can indeed for the most part be considered

^u Virg. *Æn.* VI. 645-655. See above, note P.

^w Homer, *Od.* XI. 41.

only as the childish conceptions of untutored minds, in the infancy of the world, or in ages of gross ignorance. Nevertheless, being consecrated to the purposes of superstition, and in length of time becoming venerable by their antiquity, they maintained their credit, in more enlightened ages, amongst the multitude, and, through policy, were patronized even by those who discerned their absurdity.

This general view, of the notions which the heathens entertained of human spirits, may prepare us to receive the farther account that will be given of them, and thereby of the ground of that particular kind of worship that was paid them. And, if the same worship was paid to the gods as to human spirits, and for the same reasons, it will appear highly probable, that both were of the same nature originally, though there was a difference of rank between them.

them. Let us now examine some of the principal rites of the ancient idolatry.

I shall begin with taking notice of the *sacrifices* and *libations* which made a considerable part of the heathen worship. In order to understand the ground of these rites, we must consider in what manner the Gentiles shewed their respect to dead men. They supplied them, as was observed, with such things as had been agreeable or useful in life; threw upon their funeral piles odours and perfumes^x, and animals^y, and made libations of wine^z. The daily and annual offerings, that were afterwards made them at their graves, were similar with those at their funerals, viz. flesh, blood, water, wine,

^x Bos, Gr. Antiq. Part 4. c. 22. Their tombs also were strewed with flowers. Id. p. 432.

^y Homer, Il. l. 23. v. 166. Odyss. l. 24. v. 66. Virgil, Æn. XI. 197. Herodian. l. 4. c. 14. p. 156. Oxon. 1704. Animals were slain at funerals partly to supply the ghosts with blood, and in part to attend them in the other world. See page 424, note ^o.

^z Bos, ubi supra.

milk,

milk, and honey^a. In carrying them meat and drink for their sustenance the *parentalia* properly consisted^b. The ghosts were thought to come from their subterraneous habitations, or from their graves, to partake of the entertainment provided for them^c. Now the libations and sacrifices, which were offered to the gods, were of the same kind with those

^a Bos, p. 432, 433. Potter, v. 2. p. 257, 258. Comp. Kennett, Rom. Antiq. p. 360, 361. Guthier, de Jure Man. l. 2. c. 11. And see Ovid, Fasti, l. 2. v. 535. and Plautus, cited above, p. 270. note ¹. Concerning the annual offerings of food and raiment, made by the Gauls to the manes of the dead, of which they were supposed to stand in need, see Borlase, Antiq. of Corn. p. 114.

^b Guthier de Jure Man. l. 2. c. 12.

^c Potter, v. 2. p. 251. Kennett, Rom. Antiq. p. 361. Ovid describes the common opinion in the following lines. Fasti, l. 2. v. 565.

Nunc animæ tenues, et corpora functa sepulchris,
Errant : nunc posito pascitur umbra cibo.

As to the sacrifices and libations, Lucian says, (in his Charon, five Contemplantas, v. 1. p. 358.) Verum illis persuasum est umbras ab inferis reduces, circum nidorē et fumum, quantum possunt, volitando cænare, et ex fovea mulsum bibere.

appointed

appointed for the dead^d, and both had the same intention. The gods were regaled with the odour of incense, and the fruits of the earth; they were refreshed and nourished with the fumes of drink-offerings, and the steams of slaughtered animals ascending from their altars^e. For the convenience of their receiving the grateful and beneficial exhalations from the meat and drink offerings, the altars were placed lower than their statues and images.

^d See Bos, Part 1. c. 6. or any other writer upon the sacrifices which the Heathens offered to their gods.

^e That the Gentiles really thought their gods were gratified and fed by the odours, wine, blood, and flesh, which were presented to them either in their own natural state, or when spiritualized, as it were, and refined, by fire, is evident from the divine warning given the Israelites against conceiving of Jehovah in the same unworthy manner. *Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?* Ps. I. 13. The Fathers often reproach the heathen gods with their want of meat and drink, and with their intemperate use of both. See Arnobius, p. 229, 230, 236, 249. And not only did the vulgar Heathens suppose their gods were nourished by sacrifices; but the philosophic Julian also seems to have adopted the same gross notion, and he ascribes it
to

images'. The oblations here spoken of could not be intended for the use of the sun, moon, and stars; and we are expressly told that these celestial luminaries were nourished by the vapours of the ocean or of fresh water^s. The sustenance which idolaters provided for their gods was perfectly adapted to their idea of human ghosts: which creates no small presumption that both were considered as having been partakers of the same nature.

Blood in particular was an acceptable libation to ghosts^h, and more especially

to Marcus Antoninus, as is allowed by his late panegyrist. See Gibbon's Hist. v. 2. p. 363.

^f Potter, v. 1. p. 178, 179.

^s Cicero, Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 15. l. 3. c. 14.

^h Adfirmantur animæ lacte et sanguine delectari. Servius on Æn. III. v. 66, 67. That the ancient Heathens thought ghosts were fond of blood fully appears from Homer, Odyss. XI. passim. Hence the victims were slain at their sepulchres. Serv. ib. The blood was poured out there upon the ground or in trenches. Pausanias, Phocica, p. 807. To want this blood was esteemed a great calamity. Potter, v. 2. p. 258, 259.

to

to the ghosts of heroes¹. There is nothing more certain than this fact, though it may seem strange to those who do not recollect that the ancients drank blood^k; and consequently that, on their principles, stated above, men must retain their love of it after death. It might be peculiarly agreeable to warriors, on account of the singular ferocity of their tempers. And it's being transferred into the worship of the gods¹, as every one

ⁱ They brought to Polydore's tomb *sanguinis sacri pateras*. Æn. III. 67. At the funeral of Pallas the blood was sprinkled over the pile. *Cæso sparsuros sanguine flammæ*. Æn. XI. 82.

^k *Quinimo primis mundi ætatibus sanguis hominibus potus erat, si fidem promeretur Avitus. Geusius de Victimis humanis. Pars 2. p. 404.* That it was a common practice to drink blood, or eat the flesh of animals while the life, that is, the blood, was in it, is implied in the prohibition of it. Gen. ix. 4. Learned men have shewn, that eating raw flesh, cut off while the creature was living, was an ancient rite of idolatry. See Maimon. More Nev. pars III. c. 48. Selden, de Jure N. & G. VII. 1.

¹ To the celestial or *supernal* gods the blood was offered upon altars (Potter, v. 1. b. 2. ch. 4. p. 203. Comp. Virg. Æn. VIII. 106.) for the same reason that it was poured upon the ground to the *infernal*, viz. in order to it's being near to the deity who was to partake of it.

knows

knows it was, naturally leads us to consider those gods as deified heroes, who still, in the opinion of the Heathens, preserved their relish of it, as they did of every thing else they had loved before.

The shedding of *human blood*, to appease the heathen deities, is a new proof of their terrestrial origin. The brute animals, which the Gentiles sacrificed to their deities, were not always such as were agreeable to them; they were often such as were odious, and whose destruction gave them pleasure^m. It was the same as to men. Favourite slaves suffered death that they might serve their masters in another life. Conquered enemies were killed with a different view, to satiate the malice and revenge of the manes of warriors. The refinement of modern times, owing principally to the spirit of mildness and humanity which the

^m Ut cum Cereri porcam, Baccho capram, mactabant: quorum illa segeti, hæc vitibus, infesta est. Potter, Comment. in Lycophronis Cassand. v. 77.

christian religion has diffused through the nations, makes it difficult for us to conceive how much cruelty entered into the composition of heroes in the rude and barbarous ages of antiquity. We may, perhaps, form some imperfect idea of it from the savages in North America, who rack their invention in order to put their captives in war to a lingering death in the greatest possible torment; which they suffer amidst the joyful acclamations of their enemies. The passions, which men discovered in life, the ancients, as we have seen, ascribed to them after death; and consequently conceived of the dead as cruel and vindictive, as envyingⁿ the happiness, and delighting in the misery, of those who had offended them. Hence, I apprehend, it is that idolaters practised all manner of cruelties upon them-

ⁿ The human passion of envy is often ascribed to the gods. Potter, v. 2. p. 221. Nothing could more mortify a human ghost, when under the influence of malice and resentment, than the prosperity of a hated object.

selves and one another, in the worship of Diana, Bellona, and other deities, that, by the sight of their sufferings, these deities might at length be induced to pity and spare them. We are expressly informed, that the blood, which flowed from those wounds which the Pagans made in their own flesh, was thought to appease the gods' ghosts°.

It is with the same view that *men* were put to death°. The ghosts of such as were slain in war, or who slew themselves, were supposed to be stimulated by the strongest revenge^p, and could not be appeased but by the destruction of their enemies. We are certain, therefore, that human

° Varro dicit mulieres in exequiis et luctu ideo solitas ora lacerare, ut sanguine ostenso inferis satisfaciant : quare etiam institutum est, ut apud sepulchra et victimæ cædantur. Apud veteres, etiam homines interficiebantur. Servius on *Æn.* III. 67. Quid potest esse hac pietate clementius, quàm *mortuis* humanas victimas immolare? Lactant. I. 5. c. 10.

^p Nothing pierced Dido with so keen anguish, in the article of death, as the thought of perishing unrevenge'd. *Moriemur inultæ?* Virg. *Æn.* IV. 659.

victims perfectly corresponded to the corrupt passions ascribed to the ghosts of men.

Accordingly we find, in fact, that the manes of warriors and heroes were propitiated with human victims at their funerals. Achilles sacrificed twelve Trojan heroes at the funeral of Patroclus, and then called upon him to rejoice, even in the gloomy realms of Pluto, at their being burnt in the same flames with his own corpse¹. Polyxena was slain upon the tomb of Achilles to appease his ghost, on which subject the Hecuba of Euripides is founded. And Æneas, notwithstanding compassion made so distinguishing a part of his character, reserved several young captives to offer them as victims to the manes of Pallas^r, who was slain by

F f 2 Turnus.

¹ Χαιρε μοι, ω Πατροκλε, και εις Αϊδαο δομοισι

Δωδεκα μεν Τρωων μεγαδυμων νεας εσθλας

Της αιμα σοι παντας πυρ εσθισι.

Homer. Il. XXIII. 179.

^r ———Sulmone creatos

Quatuor hic juvenes; totidem, quos educat Ufens,
Viventis

Turnus. He afterwards refused to spare Magus, who earnestly begged his life, because, as he alleged, the shade of Anchises demanded his death^{*}, even though no prior enmity had subsisted between them. And the reason which Æneas assigned for killing Turnus, a prostrate suppliant for mercy, was, that the ghost of Pallas, in revenge for his own death, required the sacrifice of his blood[†]. If such were supposed to be the temper of so amiable a hero as Pallas, there is reason to conclude, that warriors, who had been long accustomed to the havoc of the human species, would be thought to require a more am-

Viventis rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris,
Captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammæ.

Virg. *Æn.* X. 517.

▪ Id. ib. v. 533.

† — Pallas te, hoc vulnere Pallas,

Immolat, et pœnam scelerato ex sanguine fumit.

Æn. XII. 948.

The forementioned sacrifices are to be considered merely as the effect of the cruel superstition of the times, and are no reflection upon Æneas, who acted from a pious care to placate the dead.

ple

ple vengeance, and to take more satisfaction in the punishment of offenders, or even in the sufferings of the innocent, from cruelty of disposition. The combats of the gladiators were properly *funeral rites*^u, and the blood spilt in them was designed to appease the manes of the dead^w. These facts are undeniable proofs that human sacrifices were offered to deceased heroes, and were adapted to their presumed disposition.

The same cruel rite, which was celebrated at the funeral of *heroes*, was performed, stately or occasionally, in the worship of the *gods*, and upon the same ground, a sanguinary and revengeful

^u Plutarch calls the combats *επιταφιας αγωνας*. Vit. Coriolani, p. 218. F. The combatants were called *bustumarii*, because they fought at the *bustum* or sepulchre of the dead.

^w The captives sent to the funeral of Junius Brutus, instead of being slain in the usual manner, were ordered to fight. Servius on *Æn.* III. 67. This method of destroying them had the same intention as the former, but was more suitable than that to the temper and policy of a warlike people, and served to inure them to scenes of blood and slaughter.

disposition. It has indeed been asserted, that the natural gods were the objects of this worship. Let us therefore see whether the facts on record do not prove that the direct and immediate objects of it were human spirits. Only I would first of all observe, that those, who offered these costly victims to heroes, were not likely to withhold them from the same heroes when they were exalted to the rank of gods.

To whom were more human sacrifices offered, in Phenicia, at Carthage, and other places, than to that monster of cruelty, *Saturn*, who not only made war upon his father, and maimed him, but sacrificed his own children to him*? This barbarity to his offspring is assigned as the reason why, after his death and deification, he was appeased with

* Sanchoniathon, ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. i. c. 38, 40. l. 4. c. 16. Porphy. de Abstin. l. 2. c. 56. Euseb. de Laudibus Constant. p. 756. Diodor. Sic. l. 20. p. 415. tom. 2. ed. West, Marsham, Chronicus Canon. p. 76, 77.

the sacrifice of children^y. The ancient philosophers searched for a physical interpretation of Saturn^z, and a learned modern^a would willingly understand by him the *god of light*; but it has been already shewn, that history represents him under a human character. His worship was founded upon that history as literally understood by the people^z, and was adapted to his bloody disposition. His son, *Jupiter*, who also was worshipped with human blood^b, is styled the only

^y Nam Saturnus filios suos non exposuit, sed voravit. Merito ei in nonnullis Africæ partibus à parentibus infantes immolabantur. Minuc. Felix, p. 291. ed. Var. —cap. 30. p. 151. ed. Davis. Cùm propriis filiis Saturnus non pepercit, extraneis ubique non parcendo perseverabat, et seq. Tertullian. Apol. c. 8. p. 9. ed. Rigalt. Bryant, Observations, p. 279, 280.

^z Cicero, Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 24.

^a Bryant's Observ. p. 280.

^b Tertullian. Apol. p. 9. Minuc. Felix, c. 30. and the notes of Davis, p. 153. Lactant. l. 1. c. 21. An infant was slain upon the altar of Jupiter Lycaeus. Pausanias, Arcad. l. 2. p. 600. Jupiter Latialis also was worshipped with human blood. Lactant. l. 1. c. 21.

son and heir of his father in cruelty^c. *Osiris*, called also *Bufiris*, was, like *Jupiter*, a great conqueror, in an age when conquest and cruelty were closely allied; and to him strangers were sacrificed at his tomb^d. *Bacchus* was worshipped with the cruel rite of which we are speaking under the title of *Omeistes*, *the devourer*^e. Captives in war were devoted to death in honour of *Mars*^f, who, according to *Orpheus*, *was always contaminated with slaughter, and always delighted*

^c O Jovem ——— solum patris filium de crudelitate! Tertullian. ubi supra.

^d Ægyptio Bufiridi ritus fuit hospites immolare. Minuc. Fel. c. 30. Compare what *Plutarch* says concerning burning live men in Egypt. De Is. et Osir. p. 380. Men with light or red hair were sacrificed at the tomb of *Osiris*. *Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 99.*

^e *Plutarch, Vit. Themist. p. 119. A.*

^f *Herodot. l. 4. c. 62.* *Cæsar, Comment. l. 6. c. 16.* See also *Tomasinus de donariis veterum, c. 40.* and *Tacitus, Annal. l. 13. c. 57.*

with

in the ancient heathen World. 441

with human blood ^ε. And *Diana* ^η, who was void of all the tenderness of her sex, whose chief pleasure consisted in the pursuit and slaughter of brute animals, and to whom the shows of wild beasts, fighting with one another or with men, were consecrated, had her altars stained in the same manner as the god of war. This goddess, as well as Mars and Jupiter, belonged to the class of the twelve greater divinities who were translated from earth to heaven. To *Juno*, who also was one of that number, an oracle recommended the sacrifice of a virgin annually, in order to stop a pestilence ^ι which doubtless it was thought she had sent.

To the foregoing examples more may be added. I must not omit to mention

ε ——— Φονοις πεπαλαγμενος αιεις,

Αιματι ανδροφονω χαιρων.

Orpheus, Oper. p. 264. ed. Gesner.

^η Virg. Æn. II. 116. Servius in loc. Lactant. l. 1.

^ι c. 2. See note ^ο, below; and Hyginus, Fab. 261.

^ι Plutarch, Parallel. p. 314. C. D.

Hercules,

Hercules^k, who having through life made havoc of the human species, it was presumed he would be pleased, after death, with seeing human victims bleeding or burning upon his altars. *Iphigenia*^l could not but resent her undergoing a violent death to propitiate Diana; and therefore might well be supposed to receive satisfaction from having her own ghost atoned in the same manner. The northern *Thur*^m, or *Thor*, (the same, probably, with Taranis,) *Teutates*, (or Mercuryⁿ,) and *Hesus*^o, (supposed by some to be Mars himself,) had probably deluged the earth with human blood before it was offered to them in sacrifice.

^k Pliny, l. 36. c. 3. Marsham, p. 288, 289.

^l Virg. *Æn.* II. 116. Herodot. l. 4. c. 103.

^m To *Thur sanguinem mactabant hominum.* *Historiæ Normandorum scriptores antiqui.* Paris, 1619. p. 62.

ⁿ Tertullian. *Apol.* c. 9.

^o Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
Theutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus,
Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.

Lucan. l. 1. v. 44.

This list might have been swelled with the names of *Mithras*^p and other gods; but I shall only observe, that the astonishing cruelty of *Froe* and *Rostatus* is expressly assigned as the reason of their being propitiated with human victims^q.

From the whole of what has been offered, with respect to these victims, it appears, that the ground of offering them was the cruel and revengeful disposition of the objects of them^r: that they corresponded

^p Mithras was worshipped in Egypt as well as in Persia; and Socrates relates, that, in the temple at Alexandria, in which his mysteries were celebrated, the Gentiles ἀνδρωπεις κατεδυον, *sacrificed men*. Histor. Eccles. l. 3. c. 2. p. 173. It is to this author that the reference should have been made above, p. 396. noteⁱ, rather than to Ælius Lampridius.

^q Concerning Froe, Olaus Magnus says, l. 3, c. 4. p. 101. Cui tandem in numerum deorum relato, quia deus sanguinis haberetur, furvæ hostiæ immolabantur. The same writer gives the following account of Rostatus: Cujus stupenda immanitas humani sanguinis sacrificio ita placari voluit, ut sibi illorum, quos cultores sui oppressuri essent, animas dedicarent.

^r This is confirmed by the testimony of Sanchoniathon, who says, that, in great national calamities, it was

corresponded entirely to the supposed character of the ghosts of warriors and heroes,

was customary to sacrifice the dearest children of the nobles τοῖς τιμωροῖς δαίμοσι. Ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 4. p. 156. D. The *evil* deities were distinguished from the *good* by a different worship; according to Labeo, ap. August. Civ. Dei, l. 2. c. 2. Numina bona a numinibus malis *ista etiam cultus diversitate* distinguuntur, ut malos deos propitiari cædibus et tristibus supplicationibus asserat: bonos autem obsequiis lætis atque jucundis. In the Dissertation on Miracles, p. 249. it was said, what, I presume, has been fully proved, “ that “ the gods, worshipped by human sacrifices, were the “ great warriors who, in their mortal state; delighted “ in the slaughter of the human race.” To this it has been objected, by Mr. Fell, p. 66. that *there is not one instance to be found on record, of men raised to divine honours, by any people, because of their past delight in the slaughter of their own species; and YET this is here* (that is, in the Dissertation) *assigned to be the very reason why those gods (the idols of Canaan) were worshipped with human sacrifices.*

It clearly appears, from this language, that the gentleman did not perceive the obvious difference there is between the reason of raising men to divine honours, that is, (as I understand him,) of deifying them, and honouring them with some kind of divine worship, and the reason of worshipping them, when deified, with one species of divine worship rather than another. Each god was honoured with peculiar ceremonies. Hence Plutarch conjectures, that Matuta was the same with Leucothea, from the sameness of their rites. Vid. Camill,

heroes, and of hero-gods: that they were in fact offered both to heroes and to such gods as had been men, and, as

mill. p. 131. B. The sacrifices that were offered to different gods were different, (as we have just now seen from Labeo, and Eusebius has shewn at large, [Præp. Ev. 1. 4. c. 9.] and indeed as every one must know who is not a perfect stranger to the subject,) agreeably to the difference of their respective dispositions. The domestic and friendly gods ghosts were gratified with wine, milk, and frankincense, (Ovid, Fasti, l. ii. 533-540.) though the indignant and revengeful spirit of a warrior could not be appeased without human blood. Revenge and cruelty, however, were not the reason of his being raised to divine honours, or of his being accounted a god; nor did my language imply more than their being the reason of that *peculiar kind* of worship which was paid him by those who were previously persuaded of his divinity. My reasoning, in the place referred to, was agreeable to that of the ancients, who, when doubtful who any particular god was, formed their judgement of him by the nature of his worship. — If the gentleman meant to say, what alone could render his objection pertinent, that there is not one instance on record of men being worshipped with human sacrifices for the reason I had assigned, he should have had a better acquaintance with antiquity before he ventured on such an assertion.

far

far as we know, to such gods alone^s. So that, when the only circumstance, related of any particular deity, is, that he was worshipped with human sacrifices, we may reasonably conclude, that he was originally of the race of man. And, as these rites were universally^t

^s It has indeed been said, by some of the ancients, that human victims were in Egypt offered to the sun. It was very natural for those to run into this mistake who explained the history of the gods physically. Human victims, we have seen, were offered to Osiris; and Osiris, physically understood, was the sun. Some of the ancients would the more readily substitute the one for the other, as, in their opinion, there was a real correspondence between the dispositions of heroes and the qualities of the sun. But I question whether there were any, however fond they might be of applying the history of the gods to natural objects, who would not allow, that human sacrifices were directly and immediately offered only to hero-gods.

^t This is affirmed by Pliny, l. 30. c. 1. cited above; and has been proved to be true by many learned writers, ancient as well as modern: such as Porphyry, de Abstin. l. 2. Clemens Alexandrinus, Cohort. ad Gent. p. 36. ed. Potter. Eusebius, Præp. Ev. l. 4. c. 16. Geusius, de Victimis humanis, passim; and Mr. Bryant, in his Observations, p. 267. et seq.

practised

practised in all the heathen nations, they afford a full proof of the universal prevalence of the worship of human spirits. Many of the gods here enumerated were the principal objects of pagan devotion*.

There were other^w rites of worship, besides those hitherto specified, which clearly

* When Messapus gave a mortal wound to king Aulestes, he exclaimed: *Hæc magnis melior data victima divis.* Æn. XII. 296.

^w The heathen religion was as remarkably distinguished by it's licentiousness and pollution as by it's cruelty. Drunkenness was an essential part of the worship of Bacchus, and enjoined by law even at Athens. Plato de Legibus, l. i. p. 570 ed. Ficini, & p. 777 ed. Serrani. It generally accompanied the sacrifices and solemnities of the other gods. Prostitution was a religious rite common to all nations; and not owing, in general, to a profligacy of character, but to a real persuasion of it's being an acceptable sacrifice to the gods. Even sodomy, and bestiality, and other enormities, made a part of the pagan ritual, in Phenicia more especially. It would draw out the article of *worship* to too great a length, to produce the evidence of these facts in this place, and to shew from what principles they proceeded, which may be explained hereafter. It is sufficient to observe, at present, that the vices here specified are peculiar to the human species, and were in fact practised

clearly point out the mortal origin of the gods. I shall take notice of three: *mournings, banquets, and games.*

Mournings, and all the signs of the most extravagant grief, such as lamentable cries and bodily lacerations, were the most sacred ceremonies of pagan worship*. Now these rites of idolatry

practised in the worship of such gods as had once belonged to it. They were practised in imitation, as well as in honour, of the gods. The rude heroes of antiquity, whatever service they might do their country by their prowess, or to mankind in general by their useful inventions, laid no restraint upon their passions; and, as they were believed to have more of divinity in them than other men, their vices were consecrated as well as their persons. When they were exalted into gods, they were thought to retain the same dispositions. The early Christians reproach them with every species of impurity; and so do the Heathens themselves, many of whom were ever ready to plead their examples as an excuse for all the vices that the basest and vilest of men could commit.

* In adytis habent idolum Osiridis sepultum: hoc annuis luctibus plangunt, radunt capita, ut miserum casum regis sui turpitudine dehonestati defleant capitis; tundunt pectus, lacerant lacertos, veterum vulnerum refecant cicatrices, ut annuis luctibus in animis eorum funestæ ac miserandæ necis exitium renascatur. Julius Firmicus, p. 4, 5. See also Spencer, Leg. Hebr. p. 574, 580.

were

were the very same with those practised at funerals. It was customary with the Heathens, at the death of their relations, to make the most mournful lamentations, to rend their clothes, to cut, lance, and tear, their flesh^y. These doleful cries and cruel lacerations were carried to such excess at Athens, a city greatly addicted to superstition and idolatry, that it became necessary to prohibit them by law^z. They are not to be considered merely as expressions of grief for the personal loss which survivors sustained by the death of valuable relations ; they were principally designed for the benefit of the dead themselves ; a matter that requires to be explained.

^y See Bos, *Antiq. of Greece*, pt 4. ch. 21. *Levit.* xix. 28. xxi. 5. *Deut.* xiv. 1. *Jerem.* xvi. 6. xlviii. 37.

^z *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve lessum funeris er-go habento. Petit, Leg. Attic. p. 600. Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead. Levit. xix. 28. xxi. 5. These cuttings are here forbidden as rites of idolatry.*

The soul of man, it was imagined, quitted the body *mourning it's unhappy fate*^a, partly on account of the enjoyments it lost, and partly by reason of it's entrance into *Aides*, or *Hades*, a most gloomy and uncomfortable region, in the general opinion of the ancient Heathens^b. Besides sorrow and regret, the dead, at going out of the world, were supposed to feel displeasure and resentment, and in many cases to pant after revenge^c. It was to this state of their minds that the mourning for them was adapted. The extraordinary grief and sympathy of their relations at their funerals might well be thought to soothe and console them in some degree under their hard lot; and, together with their

^a Ον πόμον γοῶσα. Homer. Il. XVI. 857.

^b Homer represents all the ghosts in the subterraneous caverns as *sorrowful*, *ερασαν αχθυμεναι*. Odyss. XI. 541. Even Achilles said, he had rather be the meanest slave upon earth than rule over all the departed. Homer, Odyss. XI. 488.

^c As was shewn above, p. 432. et seq.

wounds,

wounds, and the blood that issued from them, were believed, as we have seen^d, to appease their rage and vengeance. The tranquillity of their minds being thus restored, there was no evil or injury to be dreaded from them on account of their having suffered the loss of their lives. With the neglect of the usual signs and seasons of mourning they were supposed to be greatly offended^e.

Now let common sense determine, whether these funeral rites could be designed to honour or placate gods that are eternal and immortal, and can never taste the bitterness of death? But we need not ask the question; for the Heathens themselves have told us, that mourning was a species of worship suit-

^d Above, p. 434. note^o.

^e This is implied in the following passage of Apuleius, *Metamorph.* l. 8. p. 242. ed. Delph. *Quæ res cùm meum pudorem, tùm etiam tuum salutare commodum, respicit: ne fortè immaturitate nuptiarum, indignatione justâ manes acerbos mariti ad exitium salutis tuæ suscitemus.*

able to the dead^f, and actually paid to such of them as were deified. *A god dies, and is lamented*^g. The ancient advocates for this part of the pagan worship discovered, or pretended to discover, a secret reference in it to natural objects^h. But this secondary and mystical sense, if it was at all intended, was not understood by the people, nor designed to be so; and, instead of subverting, it rather presupposes, the literal and primary meaning of the rites in question. Plutarch, the great advocate for their physical interpretation, allows their being understood

^f Quorum omnis cultus esset futurus in luctu. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 15.

^g Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 38. p. 398. See Julius Firmicus, p. 4, 5.

^h Sed in funeribus et luctibus, quæ vere sunt funera, quæ facta sunt ——— defensores eorum volunt addere physicam rationem. Julius Firmicus de Errone Prof. Relig. p. 5. In the sequel he explains this physical reason, but it does not belong to this place. See Plutarch in the places referred to in the next note.

of the births and deaths of the godsⁱ. Accordingly we find the Heathens^k, as well as the early Christians^l, urging them as a proof that those gods had been mere mortals.

The mourning, in the festivals of the gods, was succeeded by *a banquet*, in which the gods themselves were supposed to share^m. This circumstance also

G g 3 agrees

ⁱ Θεων γενεσεις και φθαραις η προσαγορευοντες μονον, αλλα και νομιζοντες. Plutarch. *If. & Osir.* p. 379. B. See also a little higher in the same page, and comp. p. 359.

^k Tu *plangens* hominem testaris Osirin. Lucan, VIII. 833.

^l Lugete *mortuos* vestros, et seq. Julius Firmicus, p. 20. See p. 4, 5.

^m Notwithstanding their nectar and ambrosia, the gods retained their relish of their former earthly viands. They all left heaven for the sake of feasting with the Æthiopians, Jupiter himself leading the way, as we learn from Homer. Indeed they were invited as guests to all entertainments, besides those made on purpose for them.

— Et divos ipsumque vocamus

In partem prædamque Jovem. *Æn.* III. 222.

The *epulones*, whose business it was to prepare the sacred banquets at the solemn games, and to set up couches on which the gods lay at tables, were persons of great distinction.

agrees with the idea the ancients entertained of human spirits, whom they not only stately supplied with food, by daily sacrifices, but for whom they also provided annually a magnificent feastⁿ. Besides, the banquet, which succeeded the solemn mourning in the worship of the gods, was a funeral rite: for after the obsequies there was an entertainment, part of which was consecrated to the manes of the deceased, and carried to their tombs^o.

Games were instituted only in honour of the gods; and they also were funeral rites, which were exhibited to almost all the dead^p. Hence it follows, that the
dead

tion. See Guther de Jure Manium, l. 2. c. 10. The best meal put the gods into the best humour to grant favours, and was called a *supplication*. Witness the lectisternium.

ⁿ See above, p. 427, 428.

^o Bos, p. 431.

^p Omitto quod Varro dicit, omnes ab his mortuos existimari manes deos, et probat per ea sacra, quæ omnibus ferè exhibentur mortuis, ubi et ludos commemorat funebres,

dead in general were considered as gods, and were the sole objects of this species of worship.

If, exclusive of all testimony, we examine the games themselves, we shall soon perceive, that, whatever natural instruction might be veiled under them, they were celebrated in honour of deified men. They were imitations, or scenical representations, of the actions, the sufferings, and lawless passions^a, of the gods, and indeed of their whole history. It is of men alone that these scenes could be just representations. It is to their ghosts only that they could be judged acceptable, as memorials of their former condition. These exhibitions were attended with all possible magnificence, in order to gratify their pride and vanity.

funebres, tanquam hoc sit maximum divinitatis indicium, quòd non soleant ludi nisi numinibus celebrari.
August. Civ. Dei, l. 8. c. 26.

^a See Cyprian on this subject, *Ad Donatum*, p. 5, 6. ed. Fell.

If you still doubt whether the games referred to the actions and events of human beings, remember that, in the worship of Matuta, *the mother*, there was a representation of whatever befel Bacchus's nurse, and whatever Ino suffered from the jealousy of Juno': and that, amongst other ceremonies in the worship of Ariadne, who died in child-bed, and to whom Theseus ordered divine honours, a youth lay in bed, and counterfeited all the pains of a woman in travail*. In the feast of Adonis, besides representing funeral solemnities by lamentations and mournful songs, they even exposed images resembling dead men carried out to their burial†. This festival was celebrated throughout all Greece and Egypt; all the cities putting themselves in mourning, which was de-

* Plutarch. Vit. Camilli, p. 131. B.

† Plutarchi Theseus, p. 9. B. C.

* Plutarch. Vit. Alcibiad. p. 200. C. p. 532. B.
See also Spencer, Leg. Heb. p. 575, 580, 581. Diodor. Sic. p. 24, 25. ed West. Lucian, tom. 2. p. 658, 659.

signed

signed to commemorate the death of Adonis, and in testimony of their sympathy with Venus. Osiris also being slain as Adonis was, the memory of his death was preserved by exposing a similar image^a of him in his festival, as well as by other rites of burial.

On the whole, though it is not affirmed, that the religious rites here specified had no manner of reference to the system of nature, yet they certainly corresponded to the idea the ancients had formed of human ghosts, were of the same kind with those which were paid to these ghosts, and even, in many cases, were memorials and representations of the sufferings and death of the deities in whose honour they were performed. This is a plain proof that these gods had been men, and even that they were worshipped under the very idea of men that were dead.

^a See Julius Firmicus, p. 4, 5. cited above, p. 448. note *.

In speaking of the heathen worship, I cannot omit to make mention of the *mysteries*. In the celebration of these rites an explicit declaration was made of the mortal origin even of the principal objects of national worship among the Gentiles ; as we learn from the testimonies both of heathen and christian writers^w. The very learned *Jablonski* does not controvert the fact, viz. that the humanity of the gods was asserted in the mysteries ; but he supposes, that this was asserted by the magistrate, contrary to his own private opinion, for the credit of religion^x. This conjecture is not only groundless, but improbable, being

^w Cicero, *Tuscul.* l. 1. c. 13. et *de Nat. Deor.* l. 1. c. 42. Diodorus Siculus, l. 1. p. 24. ed. West. Augustin. *De Civ. Dei*, l. 8. c. 5. Cyprian. *De Idol.* Van. p. 12. ——— These authors have been already cited. I add the following passage from Julius Firmicus, p. 13. Sed adhuc supersunt aliæ superstitiones, quarum secreta pandenda sunt, Liberi et Liberæ, quæ omnia sacris sensibus vestris specialiter intimanda sunt, ut et in istis profanis religionibus sciatis mortes esse hominum consecratas.

^x Jablonski, *Pantheon Ægyptiorum*, tom. 2. Prolegom. p. xxvii.

inconsistent

inconsistent with all that we know of the conduct of magistrates and of those who wished to support the religion of the state. The magistrate, whose business it was to protect it, always acted in union with the priest; and indeed both offices, though distinct, were very often united in the same person, who did not oppose in one capacity what he taught in another. Besides, those who most consulted the credit of the public religion prudently discouraged all enquiry concerning the origin of the greater gods, and, instead of divulging, strove to conceal, their humanity, either by insinuating at times that they were originally beings of a higher rank than mankind, or (what was more commonly the case) by applying their history to elementary and mundane deities.

The following appears to me to be the true state of the case. The first objects of idolatrous worship were the elements and heavenly bodies. When the worship of deified men was superinduced upon that of the planets and elements,
much

much confusion was introduced into the heathen theology, and the original doctrine concerning the gods was in danger of being lost. To prevent this, the mysteries were instituted, and the true grounds of the pagan worship were probably explained to such as were judged capable and worthy of such information. This could not be done without admitting that the popular or national gods had been removed from earth to heaven^y. And this concession, which is all that belongs to our present subject, is a very strong confirmation of the point I have been attempting to establish. It must be observed farther, that, although the mysteries were the most sacred of all the heathen rites, they were instituted only in honour of gods of mortal origin, such as Jupiter, Osiris, Isis, Mithras, Bacchus, Venus, Ceres, Proserpine, Vulcan,

^y “ In the representations of the mysteries,” says Plutarch, “ the *true nature of demons* is held forth.” See Warburton’s *Div. Legat.* v. 1. p. 162. ed. 1755.

Castor and Pollux, and others known to be of human descent.

VII. The heathen *divinations* and *oracles* were thought to proceed from demons or the manes of the dead.

It has indeed been asserted, that those supposed to be prophets *were all titles which related to one god, the sun*²: an assertion which has the appearance of being supported by etymological conjectures, but which is contradicted by indisputable facts. I shall state the subject in what appears to me to be its true light. Several philosophers did ascribe oracles in some measure to natural causes, and particularly to certain prophetic exhalations from the earth, which owed their virtue to a solar influence³. But this was merely the private opinion of a few learned men, to which the people

² Bryant's Mythol. v. 1. p. 253. see from p. 239-282. and p. 445. The gentleman's hypothesis is irreconcilable with the sacred writings. See Is. viii. 19.

³ This is shewn in Dissert. on Mir. p. 259. note P.

were strangers. Nay, these philosophers themselves allowed, that demons might be appointed to preside over divinations and oracles^b; and that the soul itself is naturally endued with the faculty of divining*.

The common persuasion was, that departed spirits had an oracular or prophetic quality. This clearly appears from those divinations by the dead, and by ghosts, called *necromancy* and *necromancy*^c, so universally prevalent in the heathen world. Oracles, therefore, were certainly referred to dead men; to such especially as had, when living, discovered a superior sagacity, or a greater insight into futurity, than^d others. Di-

^b Dissert. ubi supra, & p. 175.

* Id. p. 259. note P.

^c Plutarch speaks of a *νεκρομαντεῖον*, an oracle of ghosts, where they were raised up to foretel future events. Vit. Cimon. p. 482. C. See the account which Maximus Tyrius (Dissert. 26. p. 265. ed. Davis.) has given of a cave near the lake Aornon, where, by prayers, sacrifices, and libations, a prophetic ghost was raised up.

^d See Pausanias, Attica, p. 83, 84.

ination by the evocation of the dead was practised in the most ancient times. In the *Perfæ* of Æschylus, the ghost of Darius is called up, and foretels his queen her destiny. According to Homer *, Ulysses invoked the dead, and descended into the infernal regions, that he might learn his future fortunes from the prophet Tiresias. With the same view Æneas consulted Anchises. Saul also applied to a ventriloquist to call up Samuel : a practice that was as early as the age of Moses°. Now will any one affirm, that Darius, Tiresias, Anchises, and Samuel, or any of the dead whom ventriloquists pretended to consult, were *titles of the sun* ?

Two considerations serve to shew that all oracles were referred to human ghosts : the known characters of the gods who had oracles, and the places where they were set up. As to the gods themselves here referred to, they were

* Odyss. XI.

° Levit. xx. 6.

known to be human personages. Such was Ammon, spoken of above, who had an oracle both at Thebes in Egypt, and in Libya^g; Apollo also, whose oracle at Delphi was so much celebrated, was one of twelve greater gods whose mortal origin was disclosed in the mysteries. Themis, a Pelasgic deity^h, and one of the Titanidæⁱ, had an oracle at mount Parnassus^k; Trophonius near the city of Lebadia^l; Amphiaraus^m in Bœotia, or in Atticaⁿ; Branchides in Milesia^o; the daughter of Macarus at

^g See Diodor. Sic. l. 3. p. 241, 242. ed Weff. Herodot. l. 2. c. 54, 55, 56.

^h Herodot. l. 2. c. 50.

ⁱ Diodor. Sic. l. v. p. 383. Apollodorus de Diis, l. 1. init.

^k Herodot. ubi supra.

^l Liv. xxv. 27. Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 26. p. 265. ed. Davis. Schol. ad Aristoph. ad Nub. 508.

^m Herodot. l. 1. c. 52. Apuleius, tom. 2, p. 689. Pausanias, p. 84.

ⁿ According to Bos, p. 97.

^o Bos, p. 98. Pliny, v. 29. Mela, I. 17. 4.

Amphissa in Phocis⁹; Geryon near Patavium^r. Now all these oracular gods, as is evident at first sight, were no other than dead men and women deified^s. And such we must pronounce all the other oracular divinities to have been, till some clear examples to the contrary are produced, which has not yet been done. The Augilites, who had no other gods but the ghosts of men, consulted them as oracles^t.

The heathen oracles were set up at *sepulchres*, and in *temples*, which are only another name for sepulchral monuments erected in honour of the dead. Their ghosts, therefore, were certainly the deities consulted in these places. And, as oracles were set up in all the ancient nations, and were universally^u con-

⁹ Pausanias, l. 10. p. 896.

^r Sueton. Tiber. c. 14.

^s See Apuleius, ubi supra; and Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 26. p. 265.

^t P. Mela, cited above, p. 97. note P.

^u Παταὶ αἱ πόλεις καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη διὰ μαντικῆς ἐπερωτῶσι τῆς θεῆς, τί τε χρεῖ, καὶ τί ἔχρεῖ, ποιεῖν. Xenophon, Sympos. p. 163. Oper. V. 5. ed. Wells.

sulted, on all occasions of importance, both by those who had the direction of the public concerns and by private persons, and were also accompanied with sacrifices^w, lustrations, and other religious ceremonies, they afford full proof of the very extensive worship of human spirits in the heathen world.

If, notwithstanding all the evidence of this point hitherto produced, whether from testimony or from facts, it should still appear incredible that dead men and women should be generally worshipped as gods, even in nations celebrated for their wisdom and learning, I might in some measure remove this prejudice, by shewing upon what plausible pretences that worship was founded. But the grounds and reasons of it are foreign from my present design. I would only observe,

▼ With human sacrifices, according to Servius on Virg. *Æn.* VI. 107. *Quæ sine hominis occisione non fiebant.*

VIII. That the remains of it at this day, amongst many professed Christians, give credibility to the existence of it in former times amongst the Heathens. It is certain that the worship of the dead still prevails, and has long prevailed, amongst the former, in the same manner it did amongst the latter.

Some of the Gentile converts carried meat, bread, and wine, to the sepulchres of the martyrs^x, as they had been accustomed to do to the manes of their ancestors before their conversion^y.

As the Gentiles offered up prayers to the dead at their sepulchres^z; in like manner, according to Eusebius, Christians went to the tombs of the champions of true religion, and *made their prayers*

^x See Austin, (l. 8. c. 27. de Civ. Dei, & l. vi. Confess. c. 2.) Illi enim ad sepulchra martyrum epulas deferabant, pultem, panem, et vinum. Guther de Jure Manium, l. 2. c. 12.

^y As to the heathen custom, see Ovid's Fasti, l. 2. v. 533-540.

^z Adde preces positis et sua verba focis. Id. ib. v. 542.

at them, and honoured their blessed souls^a; believing them to have power to avert evils from mankind, and to bestow blessings upon them^b: a power which the Gentiles ascribed to those gods who had been men.

The sepulchres of saints and martyrs have been converted by Christians into churches, just as the heathen sepulchres were into temples. Altars, annual festivals, and other religious rites, have been instituted to dead men, as well by many who live under the Gospel^c as by the more ancient idolaters, who were strangers to it. The worship of images is as familiar to papists as it ever was to the Gentiles, and apologized for by both upon the same grounds. By both also their gods are carried about in shrines,

^a Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 13. c. 11. p. 663.

^b Mede, p. 641, 642. Newton on Daniel, c. 14. p. 215. Middleton's Letters, prefatory Disc. p. 51.

^c Middleton's Letters from Rome, prefatory Discourse, p. 25. Newton on Dan. ch. 14.

and thought to be present in every image and every edifice erected to their honour. The absurdity of the papists is more glaring than that of the Pagans, because they believe that the whole *bodily* presence of Christ is in ten thousand different places in the same instant of time, under the appearance of bread and wine.

The Papists dignify their saints with divine titles, as the pagans did their worthies^d. Both assign to their deities the same offices, considering them as the guardians of towns, cities, and countries, as presidents over all the objects of nature, and over the various occupations of human life^e.

^d If the emperor Domitian styled himself LORD and GOD, as was observed above, p. 275. note^c; so is the pope called GOD, the SUPREME DEITY on earth, and our LORD GOD. Chandler's Account of a Conference in Nicolas-lane, 1734. The Papists sometimes plead that they only call their saints *divi*, not *dii*. But these are equivalent terms. Servius on Virg. *Æn.* XII. 139.

^e See Middleton's Letters, p. 153, 178. Prefat. Disc. p. 51.

If, amongst the Heathens, some goddesses were thought to have more power, or were in higher reputation in one place than in another; as Juno at Argos^f, for example; it is just the same amongst Papists with the lady of Loretto. The virgin Mary holds the first rank amongst all the popish saints, and seems indeed to be the principal object of their devotion. To her the stateliest churches and the fairest altars are raised; to her the most frequent addresses are made, and the greatest number of miracles ascribed^g. If the Heathens honoured a deified woman as *the mother of the gods*, and *queen of heaven*^h; too many Christians apply these titles to Mary, calling her

^f Spence's Polymetis, p. 56.

^g Sir Edward Sandy's Survey of Religion, p. 4, 5, 6.

^h The regent of the moon was styled queen of heaven; and the mother of the gods was Rhea, who is said to have appeared to Themistocles in a dream. Plutarch. Vit. Themist. p. 127. A.

*the queen of heaven*¹, and *the mother of God*. And she delights to be worshipped under different titles^k, just as the Heathen deities did^l.

Demon-worship was thought to be justified amongst the Heathens by the ostentation of oracles, the cure of diseases, and other miracles^m. Herein they were imitated by Christians, who pretended, that the miracles performed in the times of Christ and his apostles were renewed at the sepulchres of the mar-

¹ Lipsius addresses Mary in the following terms. *O goddess! thou art the queen of heaven, of the sea, and of the earth.* Lips. Oper. p. 1288. Tenison of Idolatry, p. 290. Epiphanius says of Christians in his time, *They made a goddess of the virgin, and offered a cake unto her as the queen of heaven.* Mede, p. 636.

^k Chishul says, (Travels, p. 135, 6.) The virgin is not invoked under the same character in all places and on all occasions, but — is split into so many distinct objects of worship; as the lady de Victoria, &c. She has numerous titles, (comp. p. 172, 173.) probably according to her distinct offices.

^l On the polyonymy of the heathen gods, see Selden, Prolegom. c. 3. ***** 5. Sched. de Diis German. p. 87, 89, 175.

^m Mede, p. 680, 681. Newton, p. 211.

tyrsⁿ. A miraculous power was attributed to their dead bodies, to their bones, and other reliques^o.

It was not without reason, therefore, that the gentile philosophers long ago reproached Christians with introducing new gods, such as were taken from amongst men^p. Nay, Theodoret boasts that *God had brought his dead* (viz. the martyrs) *into the place* (the temples) *of the beathen gods. For, instead of the feasts of Jupiter and Bacchus, are now celebrated the festivals of Peter and Paul, — and of the holy martyrs^q.* If the Gentiles *served the creature, passing over the creator^r*, the papists, (I speak not of individuals,) notwithstanding some verbal ac-

ⁿ Mede, ubi supra; and Middleton's Free Enquiry, p. 130. et seq. As to popish miracles, see Middleton's Prefatory Discourse to his Letters from Rome, p. 29. et seq.

^o Newton on Daniel, p. 208. et seq.

^p Eunapius, Vit. Philosoph. p. 76. See Julian ap. Cyril. in Newton. p. 208.

^q Theodoret, l. 8. ap. Mede, p. 642.

^r Παρά του κτισαντα. Rom. i. 21. Beza in loc.

knowledgements

knowledgements of him, do very much conceal him from public view, by directing the attention of the people to many other objects of religious worship, by associating with him the virgin Mary and other saints*, and by making the most dishonourable representations of him in the pictures with which their sacred edifices are adorned. The figure of the ever-adorable and incomprehensible Jehovah, who inhabits eternity and fills immensity, is generally that of an *old man*; and, in some places, he has upon him a *night-gown and cap*†. In the several foregoing particulars, and many more that might be mentioned, there is a striking resemblance between the idolatry of Papists and Pagans. The former *know* that the objects of their worship had been men, just as the latter

* In the town of Znaim, in Moravia, there is an image of the virgin, erected on a fair pillar, with this inscription: *Laus Deo, Mariæque virgini, sanctisque suis.* Chishul's Travels, p. 131.

† Id. ib. p. 116.

did. Both perform their worship in the very same places, *on the high-ways, in groves, on mountains*^u, and *at sepulchres*. Let us now briefly consider, how far the practice of the worship of dead men, in a large part of the christian church, proves the prior existence of it in the heathen world.

Every resemblance between the customs, whether civil or religious, of different nations, does not, I acknowledge, necessarily argue imitation. A considerable resemblance has been discovered between the customs of different people who have had no intercourse with one another; and, where it is not purely accidental, may be accounted for by some principles in human nature common to all. Let it then be supposed, what, however, cannot be granted, that the conformity between popery and paganism, in the several particulars stated above, and in a hundred others that have

^u Middleton's Letters, p. 184, 185.

been omitted, may be thus accounted for; it will still serve to shew, that the same species of idolatry, practised in a great part of the christian world, might, and probably did, prevail in the heathen world. To whatever common principles you choose to ascribe it's prevalence in both, they were likely to operate more strongly in the latter than in the former: for Christianity so clearly and pathetically represents God as the only proper object of religious worship, that it is even hard to conceive how the professors of this religion should join any others with him. At the same time it gives us such a view of the state of the dead^w as overturns the very foundation of all the devotion which has been paid them. Nay, it particularly warns us against this species of idolatry, and brands it as an apostacy from the christian faith^x. These considerations are well adapted to preserve the professors of the

^w Dissert. on Mir. p. 161 et seq. ^x 1 Tim. iv. 1.

Gospel from all idolatry, more especially from the worship of the dead; and have actually produced this effect on multitudes both in ancient and modern times, though not on all. Now if reason, even when aided by revelation, could not check the supposed natural propensity to the worship of dead men; it cannot be imagined that reason alone could do it. Every natural principle or bias will operate with the greatest force where there are the fewest and the weakest powers of resistance.

But the conformity between paganism and popery, with respect to the worship of the dead, holds in so many particulars, and such as have manifestly no foundation in any appearance of reason, or bias of nature, that it cannot be accounted for without supposing that Christians copied from the Heathens. Besides, we learn from history, what we might have presumed to be true from a knowledge of human nature, that the
heathen

heathen as well as the jewish converts to Christianity retained strong prejudices in favour of many of the principles in which they had been educated. Of this there can be no stronger proof than a fact taken notice of above^r, the continuance of the custom of offering human victims amongst the Christians in Gaul. From history we likewise learn, that many pastors of the church, who were employed in bringing men over to the profession of the Gospel, though they themselves might have just conceptions of it, condescended too far to the prejudices of others. They could not stop the current of superstition, and therefore endeavoured to direct it into a new channel; and were sure hereby to add to the wealth and grandeur of the church, though at the same time they robbed it of it's purity and true glory. The missionaries of Ireland and England, not

^r P. 108. note *. Procopius (l. ii. de Bello Gothico.) memorat Francos etiam Christum colentes ad suum ævum sacrificasse homines. Tomasin. de Donariis veterum, c. 40.

being

being able to withdraw the people from paying a kind of adoration to stones and barrows erected to the dead^z, cut crosses on the former, and dedicated the latter to christian saints ; and then allowed the superstition. These criminal compliances had been unnecessary, had not this superstition taken fast hold of the minds of the people before they became acquainted with Christianity. We may therefore justly conclude, that the worship of dead men, in countries called christian, is a remnant of the pagan idolatry*, and a demonstration of it's having existed in general credit prior to the coming of Christ, and even prevailed more before this period than it has done since.

Let us weigh the several facts that have been stated in this section, and see what is the most natural conclusion from them. The heathen gods were worshipped at places of sepulture or at ho-

^z Borlase's *Antiq. of Cornw.* p. 222, 223.

* See Middleton's *Letters from Rome*, p. 225. †.

norary tombs : they were represented by images in human form : the gifts presented to them were adapted to the apprehended nature of human spirits, and the ceremonies with which they were honoured respected their former mortal condition : and oracles, those boasted proofs of a divine fore-knowledge, were referred to the manes of the dead. These facts clearly point to deceased mortals as the objects of pagan worship. We are even eye-witnesses of the actual existence of a similar worship in the christian church, which, we know, was introduced there by the converts from the heathen religion. And, though the priests endeavoured to conceal the mortal origin of their principal gods, yet they entrusted the secret with so many, that it was at last openly divulged.

I shall offer no more proofs of the worship of human spirits in this place. Some farther illustrations of it may occur in examining the grounds and reasons

sons of the Heathens deifying both the world and the souls of men. I shall now conclude with a brief recapitulation of what has been already advanced.

That gods, who had their original here below, were worshipped in *most* of the heathen nations commonly styled barbarous^a, and in *all* those polished by learning^b, has been proved, by an induction of particulars, upon the testimony of the Pagans themselves, who certainly best knew what the objects of their worship were.

Besides the proofs of this point, which respect particular nations, others of a more general nature were produced, which equally respect all the learned nations, and all others which had adopted their system of theology. The proofs were drawn from two sources : from the distinct testimonies of the heathen poets, philosophers, and historians, and of the

^a Ch. I. sect. 1, 2.

^b Ch. II.

christian Fathers^c; and from certain facts, which cannot be controverted, and yet cannot be accounted for but upon the supposition of the truth of those testimonies^d. The testimonies and the facts mutually illustrate and confirm each other; and both, especially when taken together, fully demonstrate the general prevalence of the worship of human spirits in the ancient heathen world: which is the point I undertook to establish.

But the arguments, which have carried us so far, go farther, and prove, not only that human spirits were generally worshipped amongst the Heathens, but that such spirits *alone*, or *with few exceptions*, were, in the nations with which we are best acquainted, the direct and immediate objects of the established worship; which consisted in having statues, temples, altars, priests, sacrifices, festivals, games, and numerous ceremonies, dedicated to them by public de-

^c Ch. III. sect. 1.

^d Ch. III. sect. 2.

crees. In the nations here alluded to, idolatry was digested into *an artificial system*; which might indeed be built upon the supposition of there being two sorts of gods, the *natural* and the *human*. Nevertheless, the latter, being thought to be intrusted with the government of the world, and more especially of human affairs, became the grand objects of mens hopes, and fears, and dependence, and engrossed, as it were, the public devotion. If some of these *hero-gods* were considered, by those instructed in the secret doctrine, as symbols of the *natural*, yet the *civil* theology presented the former to the people as being themselves true and real divinities, not as symbols and representatives of any other^e. Accordingly the Heathens^f, the early Christians^g, and to these we

^e Above, p. 412-415.

^f P. 223, 224, 255, 256, 257, 263-267, 277.

^g P. 257, 344-347.

may add the ancient Jews^h, and the sacred writers themselvesⁱ, agree in representing *all* the gods of paganism as deceased mortals. This is certainly true, in general, with respect to the objects of national worship. Some, who would not undertake to affirm there were no exceptions, confessed that it was difficult to find any^k; and others thought that there were none^l. It must be observed, farther, that the argument from the facts before mentioned, particularly from the representation of the gods by images, and the places and rites of their worship, extends as far as the fore-cited testimonies, and equally with

^h In their greek version of Ps. xcvi. 5. we read, ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΟΙ ΘΕΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΘΝΩΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ. *ALL the gods of the Heathen are demons*, that is, men who after their deaths were supposed to become demons or deities. Demons here cannot denote apostate angels; because, in this sense of the word, the assertion is palpably false.

ⁱ The Scripture represents the heathen gods as *dead men*, and consequently as nothing more than such, because it does not allow their real deification after their deaths. Dissert. on Mir. p. 197. Above, p. 13.

* Above, p. 257. ^l lb. p. 265, 344-347.

them serve to shew that all the heathen gods had once been men; which is a full vindication of the opinion I had expressed of them in the same terms.* Nevertheless, a late writer declares no opinion can be more erroneous than this, and even that all the world *knew* the heathen gods had never been men^m.

The Gentiles distinguished the gods whom the laws commanded them to worship into two classes: the gods of the higher, and the lower, orderⁿ. The latter were by all known and acknowledged to be such as were natives of the earth, but believed to be advanced to heaven. As to the former, the priests discouraged all inquiry into their origin; and sometimes pretended that they were be-

* Above, p. 12, 13, 14.

^m Fell, p. 30, 110.

ⁿ *Dii majorum, et minorum, gentium*. The word *gentium* is used here as it is in the following passage of Cicero: *Cleanthes, qui quasi majorum est gentium Stoicus*. Academ. II. 41. It has always been argued from in the preceding sheets in it's true sense; though, in p. 209, it is, through mere inadvertence, rendered *nations*.

ings of a superior species, a celestial race, who had only condescended to visit this lower world, in the form of men and women, for a time. Nevertheless, persons of understanding saw through the delusion, and proved, from the history of their birth and burial, (what the priests themselves disclosed, to those initiated into the greater mysteries, under the seal of secrecy,) that even these gods of the first class were of human descent°. The Heathens not only declare, in general terms, that all their gods had no higher original, but affirm that this was the case in particular with respect to their *greatest gods*, and the objects of their most august ceremonies^p.

In examining the evidence of the human origin of the national gods, I considered the objections that have been raised against it by several writers as they came in the way, and particularly those urged

° P. 255, 458-461.

^p Above, p. 135, 183, 257 267, 276, 277, 398.

by Dr. Blackwell and Mr. Bryant. The former was a learned and ingenious, but not always a correct, writer. And his Letters on Mythology are rather a studied apology for paganism than an impartial representation of it. He was of opinion, that the gods of the *greater nations* (in which he must include the *learned* ones) were the deified parts and powers of the universe. I have therefore largely shewn that the gods of these nations were deified mortals. His objections are retailed by a late writer^a as his own, and have been distinctly examined^r. With regard to Mr. Bryant, it is impossible

^a Mr. Fell.

^r In ch. I. sect. 1. and other places, Mr. Fell attempted to refute that part of the Dissertation on Miracles which was intended to prove the following proposition, viz. “that *such* demons, as were *the more immediate objects of the established worship* amongst the “ancient nations, particularly the Egyptians, Greeks, “and Romans, were *such* departed human spirits as “were believed to become demons.” Above, p. 4, 5. This proposition is fully confirmed by what has been offered

impossible to forbear doing justice to his abilities, his learning, his candour, and

I i 4 his

ferred in the preceding sheets. Let us consider whether Mr. Fell has succeeded in his attempt to refute it.

1. Instead of informing his readers, that my design professedly was to prove the truth of this proposition, (Diff. Mir. p. 183, 231.) he has, on the contrary, maimed and disguised it, so as to render it impossible for any one to divine what the Dissertation aimed at on this subject, and to lead them to think it's aim was different from what it really was. Above, p. 11-18.

2. The fore-mentioned proposition was supported by facts and testimonies. How has the gentleman answered these arguments? by taking no notice at all of the argument from facts, and overlooking the principal testimonies, particularly those of the early Christians and of the philosophers, though the latter, in his own account, were the most competent witnesses. Above, p. 301, 302. But, if he did not overturn the proofs of the proposition, nor even examine the principal of them, yet it may be thought that he was able to urge some plausible objections against it. This leads me to observe,

3. That his objections are foreign from the purpose. The proposition respected *demons*, as contra-distinguished from the *natural gods*. Above, p. 5. Our author, in answer, tells us that the latter were worshipped; which they might be, and yet the proposition be true. To refute it, he should have shewn, that such demons as it describes were beings originally superior to the human race: but he has contented himself with transcribing,
from

zeal to support Christianity. His knowledge of antiquity rendered him fully

from those authors who wrote against Dr. Sykes, passages in which the ancients speak of demons that do *not* come under this description. The proposition respects such demons as were the *objects of the established worship*, which the gentleman hoped to refute by telling us, that the philosophers asserted a superior order of demons, though the latter were not the objects of the established worship, and though the philosophers themselves bear testimony to the humanity of those who were.* It is just the same when he is treating the subject of demoniacal possession. Instead of shewing that those demons, *to whom possessions were referred*, were a higher order of beings than human spirits, (*of which he has not produced one single example*,) he only labours to prove, (what I had repeatedly allowed, though, from his manner of writing, his readers would imagine the contrary,) that some did assert this higher order of demons, to whom, however, possessions were never referred. The gentleman succeeds *where he has no adversary*. Farther, the demons of the *learned* nations were the only subject of the proposition; the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, being mentioned as the most proper specimens of the rest. Above, p. 9, 10. To this the gentleman opposes the case of the *barbarous* nations, which, according to him, worshipped only the natural gods; and consequently acknowledged no demons at all, in the restrained sense of that word in the proposition. Ib. p. 10,

* Above, p. 298, et seq.

fully sensible of what he freely acknowledges, viz. that, in the opinion of the
Heathens

23. In a word, all his objections are quite foreign from the purpose, or else,

4. They are not founded in fact. His language manifestly implies that the philosophers were on his side, though the contrary has been demonstrated. Above, p. 300-308. He strongly insinuates that I had *excluded* their testimonies, notwithstanding I had appealed to, and produced, them. Ib. p. 301. note ². In contradiction to all the foregoing testimonies, he maintains that *hero-gods were either rejected or not known, even in the days of Plato, by the greatest part of the world*; and, to give some colour to his assertion, he substitutes the word *most* in the room of *many*, and thus corrupts, as well as grossly misinterprets, this philosopher. Dissert. on Mir. p. 173, note ^f. Fell, p. 9. Above, p. 10, 11, 131. In most of those very nations, in which he affirms divine honours were not paid to deceased heroes, human spirits were actually worshipped. Above, ch. I. sect. 1. p. 93, et passim. Sect. 2. p. 128. ch. II. sect. 1 and 2. In some as the *greatest*. Ib. p. 33, 183. In others, as the *only* gods. Ib. p. 32, 93. According to his arithmetic, the natural gods were the *greatest part* of the heathen deities, contrary to the clearest evidence. Above, p. 19, 267-272. In order to serve his purpose, he confounds the Belus, spoken of by Berosus, with the Creator of heaven and earth, notwithstanding Berosus himself tells us, Belus's head was twice cut off. Above, p. 188-190. He makes the Phenicians and Egyptians

Heathens themselves, their gods were
deified

to be worshippers only of physical beings, by mutilating his author, who declares in the most unequivocal terms, and in the very place appealed to, that they had gods both *mortal* and *immortal*, and that the former were accounted the *greatest gods*, though the latter were the only gods in their own natural right. Fell, p. 31. Above, p. 133, et seq. The gentleman has frequent recourse to such mutilations. That complained of above, p. 11, 12. is a just specimen of his usual manner of quoting my writings. He appeals to Herodotus to prove, that "the Getes esteemed the heavens to be the only deity," though this very historian (in agreement with all others) affirms, that they worshipped Zamolxis. Nay, Herodotus says, that the Getes *believed there was no other god but theirs*. Above, p. 30-34. According to Mr. Fell, "Plutarch was *very careful* never to attribute this opinion" (viz. That the gods of Egypt had been men) "to the *Egyptian priests*;" and yet this same Plutarch declares, the *priests* did affirm, that the *bodies of their gods, except such as were incorruptible and immortal, lay buried with them*." Above, p. 165, 166. Thus, Mr. Fell, notwithstanding his declaration to the contrary, Introduction, p. viii. does *impute to authors opinions they never maintained*, and even such as they clearly contradict or overturn. See above, p. 133, et seq. and p. 144, 177, note f. No wonder the gentleman is rather sparing of his citations. What he did not know himself, he imagined others were equally ignorant of. He speaks as if no proof could be produced

deified mortals'. But this concession, and other concessions, together with his relying more on etymological deductions than

ced of the humanity of *Osiris*, (above, p. 169, note ^k,) or of the worship of a man under the name of *Bel*, ib. p. 196, note ^l; and as if there were no decisive evidence of mens paying religious worship to a human spirit under the term *Jupiter*, p. 246. in a note; though proof of the humanity of *Osiris* was placed before him, see above, p. 169, and he should have known that there was decisive evidence of the humanity both of *Bel* and of *Jupiter*. He confounds the *Jupiter* of the temples with that of the philosophers. Ib. p. 298-300. With respect to *Jupiter*, see also p. 237. He speaks of the doctrine of *Euhemerus* as that of an *individual*, though it had spread throughout the world. Ib. p. 235, 236. It is not of one or two particular branches of his subject that he was ignorant, but of the whole: witness his general declarations concerning the heathen gods. Ib. p. 484. But it is not justifiable to affirm any thing as a fact, while we are ignorant whether it be true or false. Much less is it allowable to affirm what is clearly and certainly false, in such assured language as implies our knowing it to be certainly true. See ib. p. 205, 206. Yet this is his usual style of writing. He represents the grossest errors as certain and evident truths. "There can be *no doubt* but that the Greeks themselves have declared, that the Egyptians never worshipped such gods as had been men." Ib. p. 177, note ^f. He speaks

* Above, p. 320.

than on the concurring testimonies of all ages, seem to me insuperable difficulties upon his side of the question. On whose side the weight of evidence preponderates is a matter that must be left to the judgment of the reader.

speaks of it as a matter “ *universally known*, that the “ Egyptians never paid any religious honours to heroic gods,” in express contradiction to the *Greeks themselves*, as well as to the united testimonies of other heathen and of christian writers. Ib. p. 183, note *. See another example, p. 237, note *. He even affirms that “ all “ the world *knew* the heathen gods had *never* been “ men.” Fell’s Demon. p. 110. — If the reader desires to see what ungenerous methods this writer uses to support his groundless accusations, he may turn to p. 353, note d, in the preceding sheets.

The foregoing instances, to which more might be added, are sufficient to shew what opinion we are to form of Mr. Fell, as a writer, even upon the subject which he has been allowed to handle better than any other. And, as the other writers, whom he hath misrepresented or misunderstood, are not chargeable with obscurity, I hope it is not owing to any such cause that he has given a false or erroneous account of my sentiments on almost every article of importance,

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